The Art of Mission: the role of visual culture in Victorian mission to southern Africa, 1840–1910.

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Abstract

The visual culture of Victorian Protestant missionaries is an under-researched area, despite the current interest in art and religion, and the implications of missionary imagery's legacy in a post-colonial world. Looking specifically at British missionaries to southern Africa, this thesis proposes that visual culture, comprised of art, image, and their corollaries in personal and collective imagination, be recognised as an appropriate framework through which to re-examine a group predominantly associated with the Word. In particular, it argues that visual resources were not only communicated with originating missionary societies and home supporters, but were utilised as tools for evangelism and education, and the development of self-identity for men and women operating far from home.

Beginning with a theoretical defence of visual culture as an appropriate and meaningful lens through which to investigate mission, the thesis goes on to consider the formative visual culture of prospective missionaries, identifying how and why evangelical Protestants accessed images. Key themes of landscape and portraiture are identified, and the varied media through which these were encountered investigated, including printed publications, gallery art, domestic ephemera, and ecclesial decorations. A detailed examination of the popular religious periodical *The Sunday at Home* brings together the exploration of these diverse themes. The second half of the thesis transitions from visual influences on prospective missionaries at home, to the visual culture of foreign missionary practitioners, pivoting on the activity of missionary training. An exploration of training reveals a disconnect between the importance of art and image in popular religious life, and a failure to address adequately their evangelistic applications. Moving into the final sections of the project, art and image re-emerge as significant, though the lack of guidance on their use is shown to have limited their co-ordination and effectiveness. Nevertheless, archive research in the UK, and field research in Malawi and South Africa, yielded sufficient material to demonstrate the particular importance of the landscape genre, and of the magic lantern as a crucial visual medium.

Although visual materials were significant in the construction of missionary identity, and were heavily utilised in mission contexts, there was a widespread lack of engagement with, and distrust of, the visual, creating the complex and ambiguous interactions with which this thesis is ultimately concerned.

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1. Introduction

A conception of God like the truly Christian makes Art as inevitable as missions.
(P.T. Forsyth)[1]

Protestant Christianity in nineteenth century Europe was a religion of the Book, and its modern evangelical missions believed in the power of the Word to transform listeners and readers anywhere in the world. This belief was evident in the drive within the emerging European missionary movement for biblical translations into every tongue encountered, and in the equipping of its personnel with little more than a Bible and passage to a far-off land. At the same time as missionaries were setting out to spread the Word of God, Victorian Britain was becoming a culture of multi-media visuality. The two did not, however, exist on different planes, but were intimately connected, and exerted mutual influences on one another. This study brings together the missionaries so often defined in relation to scripture, translation, and education, and the deeply visual world within which they lived and worked.

1.1 Mission and vision

The primacy of the scriptural Word, and accompanying preaching word, within Protestant traditions may still hold, but over the past half century a substantial shift towards the visual across the academy has disrupted the word/image binary, challenging both historical and theological views. The locus of this change has resolved itself around the concept of 'visual culture'. Variously formulated as a new discipline, an '*in*discipline',[2] an interdiscipline, a methodology, or a vague embrace of visuality as worthy of a place within the scholarly realm, visual culture has undoubtedly had a broad interdisciplinary impact on approaches and subject matter. Evidence of this 'visual turn'[3] can be found firstly in scrutiny of religious

[1] P.T. Forsyth, *Religion in Recent Art* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1901), 141.
[2] W.J.T. Mitchell, 'Interdisciplinarity and visual culture', *Art Bulletin* 77:4 (1995), 541; see also Joanne Morra and Marquand Smith, 'Introduction' in Joanne Morra and Marquand Smith (eds.), *Visual Culture: Critical Concepts in Media and Cultural Studies Volume I: What is Visual Cultural Studies?* (London & New York: Routledge, 2006), 15.
[3] See e.g. Joan M. Schwartz, 'Negotiating the Visual Turn: New Perspectives on Images and Archives', *The American Archivist* 67 (2004), 107-122; Martin Jay, 'Cultural Relativism and the Visual Turn', *Journal of Visual Culture* 1:3 (2002), 267-278. Also known as the 'pictorial turn', W.J.T. Mitchell, *Picture Theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation* (University of Chicago Press, 1995), 11-34.

art from periods of Christian history not previously considered, and in forms not traditionally studied within art historical enquiries. In Hans Belting's work on the 'image before art', which addresses early Christian images, such analysis challenges the Reformation assertion that the early church was uniconic and thus excluded from the problematic sphere of image-making.[4] Thomas F. Mathews' re-reading of early depictions of Christ pushes further for an attendant rethinking of christological formulations.[5] Though concerned with an early period, these reassessments have implications for ongoing Protestant attitudes towards art and image, which have been widely based on these Reformation claims. At the same time, increasing attention has been paid to non-traditional art forms, and even interior visions.[6]

A second significant strand in art and religion scholarship begins with a theological, rather than primarily a historical, perspective, and considers the place of art and image in modern Protestant Christianity, as both an internal tool for the faithful and an external communicator reaching out into the wider world. In considering the former, William Dyrness' *Reformed Theology and Visual Culture* argues that in the historical shift from seeing the divine in the specific (object or image), to seeing the divine in neighbour and creation, the place of art and image thereby changed dramatically. Visual images were reoriented away from devotion to the service of instruction through catechisms, 'Book of Martyrs' and Bibles, and through portraiture that revealed the divine in the person of the 'neighbour'.[7] Turning to the latter, Richard Harries assesses the association of art and religion as a crucial intersection between the church and the world, within which the human desire for beauty and transcendence can find expression.[8] More than communicating these meta-concepts, however, the interactions of religious art and the world form complex webs of influence, communication, and

[4] Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art* (London: University of Chicago Press, 1994).
[5] Thomas F. Mathews, *Clash of the Gods: A Reinterpretation of Early Christian Art* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993). See also Robin Margaret Jensen, *Understanding Early Christian Art* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2000).
[6] e.g. John Harvey, *Image of the Invisible: The Visualization of Religion in the Welsh Nonconformist Tradition* (Cardiff: University of Cardiff Press, 1999).
[7] William Dyrness, *Reformed Theology and Visual Culture: The Protestant Imagination from Calvin to Edwards* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).
[8] Richard Harries, *Art and the Beauty of God: A Christian Understanding* (London: Mowbray, 1993); also *The Image of Christ in Modern Art* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2013); see also George Pattison, *Art, Modernity and Faith: Restoring the Image* (London: SCM Press, 1998).

miscommunication as image-makers seek to cross boundaries not only between the religious and the secular, but also between the infinite and the finite material world.

In this study, both sides of the mutually-influencing interaction between the religious and the visual, the internal and the external, are important. The investigation of distinctively Protestant personal, instructional, and devotional uses of images is central to the methodological approach in the first half of the project, whilst understanding the external functioning of images as they become involved in the outward-facing task of missionary evangelism is both its underlying raison d'être, and the focus of its later sections.

While the historical and contemporary importance of art and image within Christianity, and specifically within Protestantism, is evident from the foregoing, studies in Protestant mission have been slow to attend to the visual. Where they do consider art and image, it is most often as tools not of evangelism or of personal faith-practice, but of communication oriented back to Western missionary centres. In recent decades, this has particularly occurred within the context of colonial and post-colonial[9] studies, and is evident in explorations of illustrations and imagination in missionary periodical literature, in missionary biographies and autobiographies, and in studies of the global movement of material images and objects.[10] Photography and lantern slides, both acknowledged as important in missionary contexts, have similarly tended to be analysed for their ethnographic presentation of foreign peoples and places, and their contribution to wider colonial representations, over their internal function within missions.[11]

[9] Throughout this thesis, the hyphenated 'post-colonial' is a chronological indicator of the period after colonial rule, while 'postcolonial' refers to the theory and discourse arising from experiences of colonial and post-colonial existence and identity.

[10] James R. Ryan*, Picturing Empire: Photography and the Visualization of the British Empire* (London: Reaktion Books, 1997); Karen Jacobs, Chantal Knowles & Chris Wingfield (eds.), *Trophies, Relics and Curios?: Missionary Heritage from Africa and the Pacific* (Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2015).

[11] See for example Eleanor M. Hight and Gary D. Sampson, eds., *Colonial Photography: Imag(in)ing race and place* (London: Routledge, 2002); David Maxwell, 'Photography and the Religious Encounter: Ambiguity and Aesthetics in Missionary Representations of the Luba of South East Belgian Congo', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 53:1 (2011); Brent Harris, 'Photography in colonial discourse: the making of 'the other' in southern Africa, c.1850-1950', in *The Colonising Camera: Photographs in the Making of Namibian History*, ed. Wolfram Hartmann, Jeremy Silvester and Patricia Hayes (Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press, 1998).

Two notable exceptions are Paul Landau's 'Illuminating the Divine in the Kalahari Desert', and T. Jack Thompson's chapter on the use of lantern slides at a mission station in Malawi in his *Light on Darkness*.[12] Landau's article investigates the motivations and practices of one (rather eccentric) missionary in the Kalahari, who was wholeheartedly committed to the use of the magic lantern as a tool of evangelism. For the purposes of the present study, its value lies primarily in its treatment of thematic and symbolic issues surrounding the lantern, rather than in providing direct evidential resources. Not only is Landau's focus on a period and place outwith the current remit, it also references an isolated and, he implies, unrepresentative missionary example.[13] The greater alignment in scope between Thompson's work and this thesis renders it the more valuable source, and it will be explored in detail in Chapter 7. In addition to these, anthropologists Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff, while not directly addressing the question of visual culture, interrogate both the materiality of the missionary enterprise, for example in its architecture, dress, and fashioning of space, and the missionary imagination, the most pertinent examples being the 'imagined landscape of Africa', and the analogical and practical application of optical and visual techniques or technologies.[14] Finally, on a more theoretical level, David Morgan's brief exposition of the broader pattern of missionary image circulation takes seriously the importance of the visual within mission, and provides a framework within which to conceptualise its currency in the missionary scheme.[15]

The reality of visual image use by Protestants in missionary evangelism is, as I have indicated, under-researched. The intentionality of image presence and use is not clear from current literature, nor has the content of missionary visual culture, or even the existence or characteristics of such a thing, been sufficiently examined. Given the increasingly broad interdisciplinary acknowledgment of the

[12] Paul Landau, 'The Illumination of Christ in the Kalahari Desert', *Representations* 45 (1994), 26-40; Jack Thompson, *Light on Darkness?: Missionary Photography Of Africa In The Nineteenth And Early Twentieth Centuries* (Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2012).

[13] To a lesser degree, Sarah C. Schaefer's 'Illuminating the Divine: The Magic Lantern and Religious Pedagogy in the USA, ca. 1870–1920', *Material Religion* (2017), which also takes seriously the magic lantern as a pedagogical and evangelistic missionary tool, contributes to this, but takes domestic use in the United States as its central point.

[14] Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution Volume 1: Christianity, Colonialism, and Consciousness in South Africa* (Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 1991), and John L. and Jean Comaroff, *Of Revelation and evolution Volume 2: The Dialectics of Modernity on a South African Frontier* (Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 1997).

[15] David Morgan, *The Sacred Gaze: Religious Visual Culture in Theory and Practice* (London: University of California Press, 2005), 147-187.

importance of the visual as historical and cultural evidence, and as culturally and theologically formative, there is a real need to open up this area of research. Historic and contemporary inter-cultural exchange, imperial, colonial, and missionary encounters and interactions with indigenous populations, and the legacy that continues to affect Christian iconography and visual culture, all demand that this lacuna be addressed. By analysing the place of visual imagery, and a wider culture of visuality, in the personal development of British missionaries, and in their missionary practice, this research therefore seeks to fill a gap in existing scholarship. As indicated in the brief survey of modern mission given below, the diversity of mission sites, societies, and nationalities, and of the people amongst whom they evangelised, makes any such analysis challenging. Dispersed and partial records, and the tendency of contemporary biographies to read as hagiographical narratives of the 'heroic missionary', can also often hide the more humdrum realities of mission life and practice. To bring the current study within realistic parameters, a focus on southern Africa is chosen, and particularly the work of Scottish missionaries operating there.

Christianity is a relational religion, and the imaging and imagining of Christ – the primary figure of divine/human inter-relation – is an obvious starting point when considering Christian image-making. Postcolonial re-visionings of Christ, challenging Western racial and gender orthodoxies, indicate some of the problematic heritage of such representations. The continued prevalence of white Christs and Western images in sub-Saharan Africa points to a missionary legacy that obtains despite African nationalism, the growth of black identity and resistance, and postcolonial rejections of Euro-American intrusions. It also provides an additional stimulus to, and urgency for, this research.

It should be noted in contrast to Protestant preoccupations, that Catholic mission has long been explicitly committed to the project of inculturation and that, combined with its overt iconophilia, the results for Christian visual culture in Africa have been significant. The KuNgoni Art-Craft Centre in Malawi, and comparable institutes in Nigeria and Zimbabwe, attempt to enrich indigenised Christianity with locally relevant artworks that contribute not only visually, but theologically. Martin Ott, in his monograph on KuNgoni art, states that one 'function of African Christian art' is 'that it may serve as a reliable source of

mission history'.[16] He goes on to argue that '[o]bserving how the dialogue of faith and culture, which is after all the main theme of Christian mission, is reflected in the visual arts can greatly enhance our understanding of the multiform ways by which the gospel has entered a given society'.[17] Visual expressions of faith, in other words, provide insight into theological perspectives and cultural adaptations of both artists and communities. Although Ott's study investigates a historical moment subsequent to that of this research, reflecting on artistic responses to a historically specific post-independence, post-colonial Christianity in Malawi, his understanding of the importance of art and image in the expression and development of theology and religious practice remains relevant.

In nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Africa, such visual expressions as those created at KuNgoni were not encouraged. Protestant mission in particular has traditionally had little to say on the subject of art, and did not encourage religious image-making among its converts. Nevertheless, it is the contention of this thesis that the presence and function of art and image within the mission context is of evidential value within mission history, and as a precursor to the development of African Christian art and visual culture in the twentieth century.

Identification of primary evidence has, in the absence of such clear visual-theological resources, proved challenging. Missionary letters, diaries, reports, memoirs, biographies and autobiographies do not devote much time or thought to the value or use of pictures in their evangelistic work. What might be gleaned from them vis à vis their visual culture must be picked from between the lines, found in incidental remarks, notes of resources requested or sent for mission school or church use, or deciphered from descriptions of faces and places. Missionary societies did not have policies on visual material, or lists of recommended pictures and illustrations.[18] Images themselves, where they can be found, can be the most exciting pieces of evidence to the researcher but, as 'mute witnesses',[19] must be treated with caution in the interpretation of their use and significance, and considered in tandem with other visual and textual sources.

[16] Martin Ott, *African Theology in Images.* (Blantyre, Malawi: Kachere, 2000), 139.
[17] Ott, *African Theology*, 139.
[18] See 5.1.3.
[19] Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence* (London: Reaktion Books, 2001), 14.

In terms of secondary literature, the revival of interest in mission history in recent decades has ensured both a solid grounding for this research, and a vibrant academic discourse in which it can participate. Having fallen out of favour during the middle years of the twentieth century, when the missionary project was seen to have been discredited by post-war, and then post-colonial, rejections of Western cultural and economic hegemonies, missionary activity is now recognised as significant not only in the history of the Christian church, but in the adjacent and interconnected histories of diverse groups and times. Comaroff and Comaroff's *Of Revelation and Revolution* set the tone in the 1990s, critically assessing British missionary activities amongst South African Tswana as processes attempting 'the colonization of consciousness', in the face of which Tswana themselves displayed not passive acceptance, but subversive and defiant agency.[20] Through such works, earlier Western assumptions that cultural and religious exchange in mission was unidirectional were challenged and, influenced by postcolonial discourse, distinctive terms became accepted conceptual currency in the discussion of mission, including 'encounter', emphasising the two-sided nature of mission as a cultural meeting, and 'hybridity', highlighting the difficult and complex processes of cultural co-mingling experienced within and through such encounters and their long-term impacts.[21]

Acceptance of the reality of mutual agency and interchange between missionaries and indigenous populations has necessitated that African religions also be taken seriously as contexts into which Christianity was introduced, and as partners in ongoing theological discourse. Terence Ranger and I.N. Kimambo's 1972 edited collection, *The Historical Study of African Religion,* and the conference from which it grew, are significant in this, highlighting both discrete religious systems, and interactions with Christian missions. Equally, in assessing the visual culture of missions, an appreciation of visuality within existing religious and cultural life (insofar as these are separable) is necessary. In this regard, Rosalind I.J. Hackett's *Art and Religion in Africa* provides valuable insights into the importance of religious art, not as static ethnographic objects, but often as

[20] Comaroff and Comaroff, *Revelation and Revolution: Vol 1*, 4.

[21] The seminal work on postcolonial hybridity is Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (Abingdon: Routledge, 1994); see also Peter Burke, *Cultural Hybridity* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2009) and Robert C. Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in theory, culture and race* (London: Routledge, 1995).

ritually powerful material items.[22] This reminder of the significance of the use, or application, of visual materials is pertinent to missionaries as well. David Morgan makes the breadth of applicability evident across his studies of Protestant visual culture, as do Sally Promey and Birgit Meyer.[23] Tactility and materiality, oral and textual surroundings, taste and smell, become important in the understanding of real-life engagement of religious individuals and communities with the objects of their visual culture.[24]

Recent advances in scholarship on mission and gender have also been influential in the development of this research. Lesley Orr Macdonald's *A Unique and Glorious Mission* finds the story of Scottish women missionaries to be instructive of the social, public roles of women who transgressed the boundaries of womanhood and femininity, in their actions if not their words.[25] Macdonald also identifies the ways in which interactions with women abroad could create new gender-problems, for instance by imposing British gender norms, but could also have positive impacts on issues such as female genital mutilation (FGM).[26] Esme Cleall and Rhonda A. Semple have both approached gender and mission from the reverse perspective of masculinity in the male-dominated context of nineteenth-century South Africa.[27] Cleall uses the transfer of images of missionary masculinity between mission-field and home as part of her study, especially as conveyed through the medium of missionary periodicals. This construction through representation, the imagining or reimagining of the missionary situation, is

[22] Rosalind I.J. Hackett, *Art and Religion in Africa* (London: Cassell, 1996).

[23] David Morgan, writing from a North American perspective, has published widely on visuality and religion, including: *Visual Piety: A History and Theory of Popular Religious Images* (University of California Press, 1997), *Protestants and Pictures: Religion, Visual Culture, and the Age of American Mass Production* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999); see also David Morgan and Sally M. Promey (eds.), *The Visual Culture of American Religions* (University of California Press, 2001); Sally Promey, *Spiritual Spectacles: Vision and Image in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Shakerism* (1993). Birgit Meyer has published on religious image and aesthetics, particularly in Ghanaian contexts, including: 'Powerful Pictures: Popular Christian Aesthetics in Southern Ghana' *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, 76:1 (2008), 82–110, doi:10.1093/jaarel/lfm092; '"There Is a Spirit in that Image": Mass-Produced Jesus Pictures and Protestant-Pentecostal Animation in Ghana', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 52:1 (2010), 100-130.

[24] Sally Promey (ed.), *Sensational Religion: Senosry Cultures in Material Practice* (Yale Unvieristy Press, 2014): also David Howes and Constance Classen, *Ways of Sensing: Understanding the senses in society* (London: Routledge, 2014).

[25] Lesley Orr Macdonald, *A Unique and Glorious Mission: Women and Presbyterianism in Scotland 1830-1930* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2000).

[26] Macdonald, *Unique and Glorious Mission*, 126-127.

[27] Esme Cleall, , 'Missionaries, Masculinities and War: The London Missionary Society in Southern Africa, c.1860–1899', *South African Historical Journal* 61:2 (2009), 232-253; Rhonda A. Semple, 'Missionary Manhood: Professionalism, Belief and Masculinity in the Nineteenth-Century British Imperial Field', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 36:3 (2008), 397-415, doi:10.1080/03086530802318490

developed in my own use of periodical texts and pictures, not primarily in relation to gender, but to the traffic of images and ideas of home, civilisation, and landscape.

The periodical press was hugely significant in the literary and cultural history of Victorian Britain, not least because of its combination of word and image, and so constitutes a key pillar on which this study is built. Both general religious titles, and specifically missionary publications, provide important evidence of the types of imagery that influenced missionaries prior to taking up their vocations, and that of active missionaries and their societies. The importance of the missionary periodical as the primary means of communication between missionary societies and the members who funded their work has been widely acknowledged, with the Missionary Periodicals Database Project at the forefront. In the late 1990s and early 2000s, Terri Barringer, along with Rosemary and David Seton, collated information on the vast number of periodicals produced by societies from the outset of the modern missionary movement. Barringer explicitly highlights them as 'a rich source of historical photographs, illustrations, and maps', drawing attention to the value of these publications as visual as well as textual resources, but also identifying missionary periodicals' visual imagery as an 'area crying out for further research'.[28] Periodical images are brought to the fore in the context of Norwegian mission in Marianne Gullestad's *Picturing Pity*, which takes periodical images as central source material for exploring the visual representation and interpretation of relationships between missionaries, their potential (or actual) converts, and God.[29] These studies, though limited, have influenced the approach taken here, in which missionary periodicals are used as evidence of the inter-related roles of images in representing mission, inspiring future missionaries, and being physically exported to foreign mission locations.

Archival research, including but not confined to periodical literature, has been integral to this project, with visual and textual sources having been identified, located, and researched in the UK, South Africa, and Malawi. The

[28] Terri Barringer, 'From Beyond Alpine Snows to Homes of the East - a Journey Through Missionary Periodicals: The Missionary Periodicals Database Project', *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* October 2002, 170; 'What Mrs Jellyby Might Have Read Missionary Periodicals: A Neglected Source', *Victorian Periodicals Review* 37:4 (2004), 51.
[29] Gullestad, *Picturing Pity*, see esp. chapter 3, 'Imagining a Call from Africa'.

reality of these archival undertakings has generally been an encounter with the ordered façade of the 'archive matrix' that conceals a messy, contradictory, and partial body of sources.[30] Most of the archive collections from which relevant material has been gleaned share a missionary heritage: the Dutch Reformed archive in Stellenbosch, South Africa; the Lovedale Collection at Rhodes University, South Africa; the Stone House Museum in Livingstonia, Malawi; and the London Missionary Society archive at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London, UK. The resulting monovocality of these collections, and their Protestant-European power-perspective, is potentially problematic in seeking a balanced assessment, but as the present investigation is into the practice and intentionality of the use of images within missionary contexts, the archives thus collated are consequently appropriate resources upon which to draw.[31]

The effectiveness, or otherwise, of visual practices for the intended recipients of the missionary message cannot so easily be deduced from such sources, since their voices are largely omitted from the records, or mediated through accepted authorities. Where a subaltern voice can be detected, the reason for its inclusion in the collection, whether intentional or accidental, must also be interrogated. This concern over authority/alterity applies not only to texts, where authorship and perspective are likely to be more explicit, but also to images. Many of the archival sources consulted in the course of this study are in visual media, and many of these are photographs. It is now a given, but necessary to reiterate, that the photographic image is not neutral, but may be as imbued with bias as are textual sources, or visual images created without the fallacy of naturality attendant upon photographs. Exclusions from images and texts, and from archives themselves, are potentially as important as inclusions. Certainly in the realm of Protestant missionary writings about images, absences are as marked as occasional presences.

Recognition of archival omissions has in recent decades been associated with the postcolonial reclamation of oppressed voices and identities. This study is not, however, engaged in the type of archival method that, as proposed by Ranajit

[30] Michelle King, 'Working with/in the Archives', in Simon Gunn & Lucy Faire (eds.), *Research Methods for History* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), 21.
[31] King, 'Archives', 15.

Guha in the 1980s, seeks to undermine the dominant colonial voice of the archive in order to 'recover the consciousness of subalterns'.[32] Rather, it is working, in the spirit of Ann Laura Stoler's approach, 'along the archival grain' to discover the perspective of the (colonial) missionaries within their own spaces and traces.[33] The work of uncovering subaltern responses is, regrettably, outside the scope of the current project, though it has been the intention throughout to be mindful of postcolonial theory and methodology, to recognise my own position as a privileged white Western researcher, and to avoid (or at the least, problematise) the perpetuation of objectifying perspectives often expressed by the missionaries under investigation.

1.2 Setting the missionary scene

Before proceding to the substantive body of the thesis, a brief survey of Protestant mission to Africa will serve to contextualise the period under investigation, and draw attention to missionary history and concerns that impact upon later discussions of visual culture. To that end, issues including evangelical roots, interests in education, missionary personnel and questions of gender, perceptions of Africa, abolitionism, and interactions with colonialism will here be given summary consideration.

The beginning of the modern Protestant movement is widely identified with the establishment of the Baptist Missionary Society (BMS) in 1792, at the instigation of the Northamptonshire shoemaker and preacher William Carey (1761-1834). While foreign mission had been conducted during preceding centuries by Roman Catholic groups, notably the Jesuits, and continued to be so in parallel with Protestant missions, Protestants themselves did not seriously endeavour to undertake missionary work until this time. The founding of the BMS was followed by a proliferation of similar voluntarist societies in Britain, Europe, and North America. These new societies marked a pivotal development that led, through the

[32] King, 'Archives', 19.

[33] Ann Laura Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2009). Addressing the colonial documentations of the Netherlands Indies, Stoler interrogates imperial attitudes, beliefs, and epistemologies within and through its own archival structures and practices; such archives are not, she argues, unwaveringly certain in their voices or their collection practices, but include, often in the margins, 'ragged edges' (2) that are revealing of uncertainties and complexities, multiple voices, and changing perspectives.

course of the nineteenth century, to the presence of Protestant missionaries in locations across the globe.[34]

The modern missionary movement was an 'autumnal child'[35] of the 1730s Anglo-American evangelical revival that was concerned, in David Bebbington's formulation, with personal conversion, activism, biblical truth, and the salvific efficacy of the cross.[36] Evangelicalism was not tied to any particular denomination, but committed to widespread renewal and conversion. The dissemination of the gospel message through foreign mission became an integral part of its wider project, which sought to revive genuine personal and national Christian character, demonstrable in action as well as in confessional word: evangelism was at the heart of evangelicalism. It was also driven by belief in the immediate and eternal damnation of the unsaved which, combined with the millennialist motivations of preparing the ground for the coming of Christ, gave an urgency to the new missions.[37]

Missionary interest in Africa, with which the present study is concerned, was additionally motivated by opposition to the slave trade. The abolitionist movement became entwined with calls for global conversion, with increasing acceptance of the humanity of the enslaved necessitating calls for physical as well as spiritual liberties to be upheld. Early missionary endeavours in Sierra Leone and the Gold Coast (Ghana) grew in response to the context of the West African slave trade. While the present research begins in 1840, after the 1834 abolition of slave-ownership across British territories and the outlawing of the transatlantic slave-trade, debates over human equality, and the realities of ongoing slave-trading, continued to impact upon missionary theory and practice. Missionaries, including David Livingstone, encountered and condemned the ongoing eastern slave trade as they pushed into the Great Lakes region of the upper Congo and modern-day Tanzania in the second half of the nineteenth century, and held its horrors as a key motivator for including the encouragement of alternative trade and commerce

[34] Stephen Neill, *A History of Christian Missions* (Revised 2nd ed.; London: Penguin, 1990), 222.
[35] Andrew Walls, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History: Studies in the Transmission of Faith* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis & Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1996).
[36] David W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (Routledge, 2003), 2-3.
[37] Klaus Fiedler, 'Evangelical Mission Theology I' in Karl Müller et al (eds.), *Dictionary of Mission: Theology, History, Perspectives* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 1997), 144-145.

as part of the missionary remit. Issues around slavery continued to be current in some areas for many further decades: Portuguese colonies sanctioned slavery until 1869, the long-established Arab-Islamic slave trade continued to be conducted along the eastern seaboard from the Brava Coast (Somalia) down to Mozambique and Madagascar for much of the nineteenth century, and the main slave-port of Zanzibar continued the trade until the 1870s, with slave ownership itself not abolished there until 1897. [38]

Away from the issues of slave-trading, the 1840s was a significant decade in the history of mission to Africa. As church historian Adrian Hastings states, it 'witnessed the penetration of the continent by an army of earnest Protestant missionaries to a degree hitherto unprecedented'.[39] Among numerous missionary societies active in southern Africa at this time, the London Missionary Society (LMS) was particularly prominent. Present since the sending of its first missionary, Johannes van der Kemp, in 1799, the LMS made substantial missionary inroads into the southern African interior. Livingstone, active between 1841 and 1873, began as an LMS missionary, and benefitted from the work of predecessors including his father-in-law, the long-standing missionary Robert Moffat, who worked for 48 years among the Bechuana at Kuruman, and the more political John Phillip, who had been especially active in defence of indigenous rights.[40] While Livingstone's explorations yielded little in the way of souls, they did much to develop European knowledge of terrain and peoples. Various missionary societies entered central and east Africa in his wake, most notably those of the Church of Scotland and Free Church of Scotland, which established stations respectively at Blantyre and Livingstonia in what is now Malawi.

Scottish denominational missions were also active in South Africa, producing some notable institutions and personalities. The Free Church of Scotland industrial training centres at Blythswood and Lovedale, to which we will return in later chapters, were important models of educational practice, and reflected the

[38] See Ralph A. Austen, 'The 19th Century Islamic Slave Trade from East Africa (Swahili and Red Sea Coasts): A Tentative Census', *Slavery & Abolition*, 9:3 (1988), 22; Don Petterson, *Revolution in Zanzibar: An American's Cold War Tale* (Boulder, Co.: Westview Press, 2002), 8.
[39] Adrian Hastings, *The Church in Africa, 1450-1950* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 243.
[40] Jeffrey Cox, *The Missionary Enterprise Since 1700* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2008), 140; Martin Ballard, *White Men's God: The Extraordinary Story of Missionaries in Africa* (Oxford: Greenwood World Publishing, 2008), 73-75.

development of social as well as religious concerns. Lovedale's principal from 1870 to 1905, James Stewart, was influential not only in education, but in social and political spheres as he actively supported British imperial expansion in the region. Among other prominent figures to emerge from Scottish missions, the black African minister Tiyo Soga (1829-1871) is outstanding. Educated and ordained in Scotland, he returned to the Eastern Cape to found a United Presbyterian mission station at Emgwali, translated the Gospels and John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* into Xhosa, and is considered a precursor of black consciousness.

Despite these examples, sub-Saharan Africa was deemed an especially dangerous field of mission. Considered unsuitable for single women, it saw a different demographic of missionaries compared with the relatively more 'civilised' Asia.[41] Africa was initially seen as needing practical rather than intellectual skill, and it was only in a bid to prevent repetition of the embarrassment caused to the LMS by missionaries such as Van der Kemp and James Read, who conducted sexual relations with black African women, that European wives entered the missionary sphere. By the early twentieth century, attitudes had changed, and a higher educational calibre of missionaries, as well as more women, entered the field. Missionary wives, and the families they nurtured, were still considered important as exemplars of Christian living, however, and white women's presence, as gendered models, formed part of the practical expression of the ideology of cultural conversion that saw 'Christian civilisation' literally inscribed upon the land, and paraded in the aesthetics of mission architecture and dress.[42]

Narratives of Africa as the 'dark continent' combined with the cultural and political disruptions of frontier wars, migrations, invasions, and slave-trading to foster Western perceptions of the continent's dangers. While internal conflicts and movements were a reality, however, European interventions and aggressions were often contributory. In Malawi, as elsewhere across the region, immigrant peoples combined with indigenous populations to create complex and dynamic political situations.[43] By the time British mission took an interest in the region in

[41] Cleall, 'Missionaries, Masculinities and War', 232-253.
[42] Comaroff & Comaroff, *Revelation and Revolution Vol II*, 274; see Chapter 6.
[43] John McCracken, *A History of Malawi 1859-1966* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: John Currey, 2012), 20.

the 1860s, invasion by groups of Nguni-speaking Ngoni from the south in the preceding two decades had led to the establishment of important new kingdoms, and the attendant disruption of earlier communities.[44] This was the case with the Tonga people in northern Malawi, who were raided and displaced by the Northern Ngoni, in a process that changed both the political and agricultural landscapes, as different land-use patterns were introduced or cast aside by the new power.[45] At the same time, influences came in from the east in the form of Yao incursions in Central Malawi, and the activity of slavers.[46] As British interest grew, moves were made to secure the territory for the empire, supported by missionary as well as colonial voices. Fear of its seizure by Portugal prompted calls from missionaries in Malawi for Britain to secure its own claim; the Protectorate of British Central Africa was declared in 1891.

The 'Scramble for Africa' (1884-5), in which European powers fought to carve up the continent for the advancement of their own imperial interests, affected the operational and ideological conduct of many missions. The new situation was marked by varying degrees of conflict and complicity with colonial authorities, and growing issues of racism, in contrast to earlier messages of an essential equality of humanity.[47] The 'civilising mission' came to the fore, accompanying increasing imperial control. Through the construction of political and educational institutions, communication networks, monetary economies and taxation, many missionaries and colonial administrators sought to further the causes of the empires of both Britain and God.

The connections between mission, empire and colonialism have occupied much missionary history scholarship in recent decades. Significant recent contributions to the debate include Norman Etherington's 2005 *Missions and Empire*, Andrew Ross' *David Livingstone: Mission and Empire*, Brian Stanley's *Missions, Nationalism and the End of Empire* (2003), and a 2008 collection from

[44] The movement of the Nguni is traditionally attributed to the *Mfecane,* a mass migration the scale and causes of which are now much disputed, following Julian Cobbing's 1988 article, 'Mfecane as Alibi', which claimed the *Mfecane* was a colonial construct. See also Norman Etherington, 'A Tempest in a Teapot? Nineteenth-Century Contests for Land in South Africa's Caledon Valley and the Invention of the Mfecane' *The Journal of African History* 45:2 (2004), 203-219.

[45] John McCracken, *A History of Malawi 1859-1966* (Woodbridge: James Currey, 2012), 33; the situation is complicated by the incorporation of conquered people (and their customs) into Ngoni society, creating dynamic, hybrid social structures.

[46] McCrackem, *History of Malawi,* 28-29.

[47] Walls, *Missionary Movement,* 79.

the University of Melbourne entitled *Evangelists of Empire? Missionaries in Colonial History*. As a scholarly precursor to much early twenty-first century work, the Comaroffs' 1991 *Of Revelation and Revolution* must again be acknowledged, this time for its achievement in turning attention from the colonial-missionary interaction as a bipartite one between European missionaries and European administrations, to one which must take seriously the agency and consciousness of the colonised. *Converting Colonialism*, edited by Dana L. Robert (2008), is an example of subsequent studies that attempt to weave colonial, missionary, and indigenous narratives in order to understand better the complex cultural encounters of the nineteenth- and early-twentieth centuries.

In addition to the tensions between mission and empire, disputes and disagreements amongst missionaries and missionary societies themselves were formative of the Protestant landscape:

> Since Protestantism is not centralized, it is difficult to synthesize any overall missionary thought or directives in it, all the more so since the Protestant missionary societies usually wanted to be independent of the established churches, though they did not refuse to collaborate with them.[48]

Added to this, as Patrick Harries and David Maxwell have commented, is the relative invisibility of the 'ordinary' missionary within narratives dominated by the most publicly alluring or controversial figures.[49] A more balanced constitution of mission history can be found (though often still favouring famous figures) when the missionary or evangelical 'encounter' is used to explore and describe the complex interactions that occurred between missionaries and those whom they sought to convert.[50] Complex encounters and interactions also included relations between distinct missionary and settler groups.

By the end-date of this study in 1910, marked by the Edinburgh World Missionary Conference, much had changed socially, technologically, and politically at home, and approaches to mission had altered as imperial, educational, and racial attitudes developed and the missions themselves expanded. The conference

[48] Jean Comby, *How to Understand the History of Christian Mission* (London: SCM Press, 1996), 139.
[49] Patrick Harries and David Maxwell, 'Introduction: The Spiritual in the Secular', in Patrick Harries and David Maxwell (eds.), *The Spiritual in the Secular: Missionaries and Knowledge about Africa* (Studies in the History of Christian Missions; Cambridge: William B Eerdmans, 2012), 6.
[50] e.g. Comaroff & Comaroff, *Revelation and Revolution Vol I*, 7; Walls, *Missionary Movement*, 85; Maxwell, *Missionary Movement in Africa*, 903.

was an important moment of reflection and change for the missionary movement in this context, and its reports provide valuable source material for the analysis of missionary activity up to the first decade of the twentieth century. Throughout the seven decades leading up to 1910, missionaries sought, through varied methods, contexts, and motivations, to spread the Word; the task for this thesis is now to consider how the visual fits into this textual mission.

1.3 Notes on terminology

In writing about this period, issues of terminology have unavoidably arisen. The topic is concerned with racial and cultural interactions from an historical period coloured by imbalanced power relations, racism, and paternalism. It also covers a geographical space that has seen its political and ethnic boundaries shift repeatedly during the period under investigation, and through a century and more beyond. Malawi, throughout the period of this study, did not exist as such, but was made up of linguistically and culturally distinct peoples, artificially united as, successively, the British Central African Protectorate, Nyasaland, and Malawi. All these terms are used at different points through this thesis, including Malawi which, as historian John McCracken argues, has 'stood the test of time in defining the limits of the post-colonial state' and remains a useful moniker for the geographical space. Similarly, South Africa post-dates the period of the current study, formed only in the aftermath of the second Anglo-Boer War with the unification by Act of British Parliament of British and former Boer territories.[51] Earlier spatial-political terms, including the Cape Province, Transvaal, and Natal, will be referred to in the text where relevant, along with South Africa as a wider regional designator.

Some of the language used by missionaries, and other white Euro-Americans, in and about Africa in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is racially and culturally offensive. Where they are relevant to the argument of my research, quotations containing such language are retained. Some of the names given to ethnic groups are contentious (e.g. Bushmen, Kaffirs), as are terms such as 'native'. Again, these are retained in quotations, and where deemed appropriate

[51] The Act of Union was passed in May 1909; the first government was formed under Louis Botha in May 1910. See Roger B. Beck, *The History of South Africa* (Oxford: Greenwood, 2014), 109-112.

to include in the text, problematic terms appear in inverted commas, or with accepted alternatives indicated in parenthesis.

Finally, the term 'southern Africa' is used to indicate the geographical focus of this research. The extent of this regional designation is disputed, but for the purposes of this study, it includes Malawi which, along with South Africa, is the site of primary case studies, and also Madagascar, which again has some pertinent sources relating to missionary visual culture.[52] Importantly for the study of missionary encounters in these regions, all had significant interactions with British −and above all Scottish − missionaries.

1.4 Mapping the project

The structure of this thesis essentially moves with its missionary subjects from home to foreign sites, following the development of cultural and personal visual influences, through their education and training, to the employment of visual materials in their missionary work.

Chapter 2 lays the foundation for this trajectory by addressing fundamental issues of image and visual culture. It first provides clarification and explanation of terms, and thus also the broad academic and theoretical frameworks within which the research project sits. Secondly, this chapter offers a contextualisation of art and image within Protestant history and imagination, setting the scene for many of the tensions that are to emerge in the course of the study. Thirdly, the specific relevance of visual evidence as a tool in the study of missions is discussed. Some of the texts and thinkers that are key to this research are highlighted here.

The third and fourth chapters consider evangelical Victorian visual culture, identifying formative elements for the imaginations of prospective missionaries. The public and domestic art and visual culture to which they would have had access, and inclination to participate in, are explored in Chapter 3. The content

[52] In terms of current regional definitions, this grouping holds, South Africa, Malawi and Madagascar all being part of the Southern African Development Community for example. Malawi is also included in the southern African region of the African Development Bank group, and the United Nations' Economic Commission for Africa. In the latter, however, Madagascar, lying off the east coast of the continent, comes under the east African region. Malawi is also sometimes defined as part of east Africa, or east-central Africa, or central Africa; as a British Protectorate from 1891 it was known as British Central Africa. Malawi's inclusion in the region grouping of southern Africa does, however, reflect the reality that the country looks towards South Africa, in terms of economic migration for example. Madagascar is less easily placed, as its history is distinct, and it is oriented more towards Southeast Asia than its nearer African neighbours.

of this imagery is considered alongside the varied media through which it was accessed, including print formats, galleries, and household objects. Chapter 4 takes up print publications as a key visual-textual medium that exerted particular influence, and looks in detail at a single title, *The Sunday at Home,* as exemplifying a genre of religious periodical that fulfilled a role within evangelical families that encompassed the educational, devotional, and recreational. Types of content and presentation, as well as patterns of use, as far as these are known, are explored, and further links drawn to wider issues of word-image communication.

Chapter 5 is a transitional point in the thesis, moving from the preparations and influences of home, and into the practical usage of images in missionary activity. The first part of the chapter addresses the training and education of missionary candidates, and the place of art and image within these contexts. The second part begins to explore the evidence of images in African mission, drawing especially on material from South Africa and Malawi, which were both heavily influenced by Scottish mission.

Chapters 6 and 7 build on this evidence of missionary practice with in-depth explorations of specific image-use. Chapter 6 focuses on landscape as a key image and imaginative force within the African missionary project. Expanding on the groundwork of 3.2.1, landscape as a concept and an art genre is explored, before moving on to its particular missionary applications in the spiritual landscape of the *Pilgrim's Progress,* the idea of the missionary pilgrim, and the shaping of material landscapes. Chapter 7 takes a different approach, starting from a particular image-medium: the magic lantern. Heavily used in missionary evangelism and education, the magic lantern was significant in itself, as well as for the content of the images it projected. A discussion of the historical development of the magic lantern is followed by the use of primary written missionary sources to define its place in the work and imagination of the missions. Finally, exploration of two extant missionary slide collections is undertaken, one from South Africa and one from Malawi. These collections of images are significant in terms of their quantity, and their importance in understanding the role of lantern slides in mission.

These varied examinations of the uses and influences of images, from domestic to foreign mission contexts, chart elements of a history of the visual in relation to the modern Protestant missionary movement. The thesis does not pretend to be comprehensive, even within its own temporal and spatial limits, but nevertheless provides valuable material from which conclusions on content and media, pedagogy and devotion may begin to be drawn, and from which it is also hoped that future research may flow. These issues will be addressed in Chapter 8.

2. Intersections: art, image, materiality, visuality

Do not turn to idols or make cast images for yourselves: I am the Lord your God.
(Lev. 19:4)

There is much in the history of Christianity at large to evidence the claim that it has had deep, and deeply significant, relations with visual art. Yet it has also been a conflicted, fluctuating relationship that raises questions as to what the visual is, and in what way it can be allied to the Christian faith.

The earliest evidences of Christian image-making are in the early third century house church at Dura-Europos, the Roman catacombs that date back to at least the fourth century, and domestic iconography from the same period.[1] These reveal a community in the process of developing its own identity, and in doing so employing and experimenting with pictorial designs and images. In Hans Belting's phrase, they are examples of 'image before art'; they ground Christian imagery in the material forms and contexts of ordinary life and death, and in the unassuming architectural contexts of a marginalised religious movement.

As the purposes of Christian image-making developed alongside theological, political, and institutional changes, so did its productions: the intricate mosaics in the domed ceilings of Byzantine churches seem far removed from the darkness of the catacombs. With the Byzantine development of icons as pictorial prototypes of Christ or saints, worthy of veneration, came voices of dissent in the eighth and ninth centuries, raised against the idolatrous distraction of worship towards material objects. While this iconoclastic controversy was eventually settled in favour of the icon, debate over the place of art and image continued to wrack the Church, peaking again with the widespread destruction of ecclesial images during the Protestant Reformation in sixteenth-century Europe.

Yet, in spite of its humble beginnings and later vicious conflicts, Christian imagery persisted. As well as being found within ecclesial, domestic, and public devotional spheres, it entered deeply into varied popular visual-culture contexts.

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[1] Erwin R. Goodenough, 'Catacombs Art,' *Journal of Biblical Literature* 81.2 (1962), 113-142; Dura Europas, destroyed mid-3rd C, also provides evidence of early Christian art; Robin Margaret Jensen, 'Art' in *The Early Christian World Volume II,* ed. P. Esler (London: Routledge, 2000), 755; Peter Talloen, 'From Pagan to Christian: Religious Iconography in Material Culture from Sagalassos,' in *The Archaeology of Late Antique 'Paganism'*, ed. L. Lavan & M. Mulryan (Late Antique Archaeology 7; Leiden: 2009), 575-607.

It also forged an important position within the realm of Western fine art, with many Christian works still high on its canonical list: Leonardo da Vinci's *Last Supper*, Rembrandt's *Prodigal Son*, Michelangelo's Sistine Chapel ceiling, Caravaggio's *Supper at Emmaus*. The list, from the Renaissance period especially, is long and rich. To study the history of Western art without a knowledge of Christian themes and symbolism would be immensely problematic, testament to which are the number of prominent exhibitions over the past two decades foregrounding numerous aspects of the relationship between art and Christian faith.[2] Some, such the London National Gallery's *Seeing Salvation* in 2000, and its accompanying BBC television series, attempt to chart the temporal breadth of Christian art, focused around a discrete theme, in this case images of Christ. *Picturing the Bible*, at the Kimbell Art Museum at Fort Worth, Texas in 2009, is an example of a different approach, whereby a narrower time-period is addressed, but a wider variety of image-forms are showcased. This exhibition took the period from the third to the sixth centuries, and displayed cups, coins, and other household items alongside paintings and carvings.[3]

The Kimbell and National Gallery exhibitions, along with many comparable examples, beg the question of what visual artworks, and other images, are, and their roles within Christianity. Some parameters and definitions of these ideas are required, to indicate not only what art/images/pictures this research is concerned with, but also why they matter and how they can aid an understanding of Victorian missionaries and their work. A discussion of the differences between image, art and picture will follow, from which the broader category of 'visual culture' will be set out as the appropriate field within which to locate the current research.

2.1 What is an image?

Image, art, and picture are terms that in popular discourse are often used interchangeably. The importance of questioning their distinctions and connections has received increased scholarly attention over recent decades, with the so-called 'visual turn' marked by the development of interest in the visual across the

[2] From a long list that could be provided to illustrate this, a few examples include: *The Sacred Made Real: Spanish Painting and Sculpture 1600 – 1700* at The National Gallery, London (2009-2010); the immense popularity of Salvador Dali's 1951 *Christ of St John of the Cross* at the Kelvingrove Museum, Glasgow; Christianity *in Asia: Sacred Art and Visual Splendour* at the Asian Civilisations Museum, Singapore (2016).
[3] Janet Spittler, 'Picturing the Bible: the earliest Christian art', *Material Religion* 5.2 (2009), 249.

academy since the 1970s.[4] It is not, as Mitchell cautions, that our age is uniquely visual, but that traditional boundaries and categories have been opened to analyses that admit different perspectives on visuality and its study.[5] This visual turn has also challenged received notions of what is worthy of academic engagement, and thereby the hierarchies of the visual.

The term 'art' in its narrow sense is a marker of exclusivity, a category into which only particular image-objects are admitted.[6] Art in this sense is created by an artist uniquely, with skill, from her or his own interpretative imagination. So Ernst Gombrich declared: 'There really is no such thing as Art. There are only artists'.[7] Art defined by reference to its production by an artist may be argued to date back only so far as the Renaissance. Indeed, it is in its distinction from earlier forms of image-making, in which the artist is not paramount, that Belting defines art, though he points too to a new understanding of artwork 'for its own sake'.[8] Giorgio Vasari's 1550 *The Lives of the Artists,* one of the first works of Western art history, marks this shift in understanding of artwork and artist. In distinction from the technical art manuals typical of the Middle Ages, Vasari undertook an historical work that described the skills and achievements of individual artists from the fourteenth century to his own time.[9] While his was not the first historical survey of art, Pliny the Elder having produced a history of Graeco-Roman art in the first century, Vasari's approach was novel enough for it to be claimed that 'it would not be overestimating his achievement to state that [he] virtually invented the discipline of art history'.[10]

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[4] Early work in this area can be seen in Michael Baxandall's *Painting and Experience in Fifteen Century Italy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972), and John Berger's *Ways of Seeing* (London: BBC/Penguin, 1972). Alternative terms are also used for this trend, e.g. 'pictorial turn' (W.J.T. Mitchell) and the 'iconic turn' (Gottfried Boehm).

[5] W.J.T. Mitchell, 'Showing seeing: a critique of visual culture', *Journal of Visual Culture* 1:2 (2002), 173.

[6] Referring specifically to the 'plastic' arts, rather than to 'the arts' more generally, which would include music, dance, theatre, literature; I am deliberately omitting any overt discussion of philosophical aesthetics in this definition of art as beyond the scope of and immediate relevance to my overall thesis.

[7] Ernst Gombrich, *The Story of Art* (London: Paidon,1995), 15.

[8] Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, xxi.

[9] Hugh Honour and John Fleming, *A World History of Art* (London: Laurence King, 2016), 20; Michael Hatt and Charlotte Klonk, *Art history: a critical introduction to its methods* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), 21; Anne D'Alleva, *Look! The Fundamentals of Art History* (Third edition; Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2010), 149-150.

[10] Julia Conaway Bondanella and Peter Bondanella, Introduction to *The Lives of the Saints,* by Giorgio Vasari (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), ix.

It has also been argued that for something to be seen as art, it must be recognised as such by a wider art community or, as Arthur Danto described it, an 'artworld'.[11] This has contributed to the status of art as exclusive and elite, and its institutions of production, display, and critique, inaccessible. The conservatism of the artworld has also historically limited the range of art, with media that posed challenges to traditional conceptions being excluded. This was the case with photography, which was not initially accepted as an artistic medium, but rather seen as belonging in the realm of science. Art, then, is difficult to define precisely, but is limited whether by the opinions of the art institution, the skill or individuality of its execution, its medium, or its aesthetic value to an audience.

Image is a far broader category than art, but equally contested in its definition. John Berger defines image as 'a sight which has been recreated or reproduced […] an appearance, or a set of appearances, which has been detached from the place and time in which it first made its appearance and preserved'.[12] While this suggests a necessary materiality to image that makes it indistinguishable from picture, W.J.T. Mitchell, in his essay 'What is an image?', argues that image is not simply synonymous with pictorial representation, but is rather comprised of a 'family tree' of different yet connected things. Material pictures and objects Mitchell classes as *graphic* images, which appear alongside projected or mirrored *optical* images, the *perceptual* images that are what we see in the world around us, and the *mental* and *verbal* images of dreams, memories, descriptions and texts.[13] Even physical pictures, for Mitchell, represent the invisible as well as the visible: 'We can never understand a picture unless we grasp the ways in which it shows what cannot be seen', whether that be 'its own artificiality', the perspective of its creator, or the inherited meanings of pictorial convention.[14]

This incorporation of a mental, immaterial element to the concept of image is taken up by Belting in *An Anthropology of Images*:

[11] Arthur C. Danto 'The Artworld' *The Journal of Philosophy* 61:19 American Philosophy Association Eastern Division Sixty-First Annual Meeting (1964), 571-584.
[12] Berger, *Ways of Seeing*, 9-10.
[13] W.J.T. Mitchell, 'What is an Image?' *New Literary History 15.3* (1984), 504-507; also W.J.T. Mitchell, *Iconology: Image, Text, Ideology* (London: The University of Chicago Press, 1986), 9-10.
[14] Mitchell, 'What is an Image?', 526.

> A work of art – be it a picture, a sculpture, or a print – is a tangible object with a history; an object that can be classified, dated, and exhibited. An image, on the other hand, defies such attempts of reification, even to the extent that it often straddles the boundary between physical and mental existence. It may live in a work of art, but the image does not necessarily coincide with the work of art.[15]

For Belting, a picture or artwork is a material embodiment of an image, but its meaning he thinks is best revealed in its use.[16] It is, however, both this immateriality and the meaningful usage of images that has been the source of suspicion and opposition towards them. The material image can both affect the viewer, and continue to exert influence even after its physical removal or destruction renders it immaterial.

This idea of images' power is complex and heterogeneous, but perhaps critical to the understanding of their place within religion. In distinction from the uniqueness of art, icons in Byzantine Christianity were understood to increase in power and veracity through replication. Where reproductions of art are viewed as inferior to an encounter with the real thing, the replication of icons was integral to their claims to authenticity and instantiation of divine presence.[17] Analogously, modern icons of popular culture could be said to owe some of their power to excessive duplication, when 'media presence' is a proxy for importance or success.[18]

Images can also be seen as powerful in themselves, and as such have historically been both revered and reviled. According to Lee Palmer Wandel, at the time of the Reformation the power of an image was understood as its ability to affect the passive viewing eye.[19] This theory of vision – Aristotelian *intromission* – situated the origin of the visual process in the image itself and imbued it with power: the image was the agent in the act of seeing.[20] Indeed, its action upon the

[15] Hans Belting, *An Anthropology of Images: Picture, Medium, Body*, trans. Thomas Dunlap (Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2011), 2.
[16] Belting, *Likeness and Presence,* xxii.
[17] Annemarie Weyl Carr, 'Icons and the Object of Pilgrimage in Middle Byzantine Constantinople', in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers 56* (ed. A. Talbot; Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2002), 75-76; also Belting, *Likeness and Presence,* 4-6.
[18] On modern icons, see Martin Kemp, *Christ to Coke: How Image Becomes Icon* (Oxford: OUP, 2012).
[19] L.P. Wandel, *Voracious Idols and Violent Hands: Iconoclasm in Reformation Zurich, Strasbourg, and Basel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 27.
[20] An alternative view – *extramission* – was also current at the time, and held that 'radiation emanates from the eye, and touches the viewed object, thus connecting the viewer to the object'; see Christopher Joby,

eye of the beholder was a physical one which, as well as indicating agency, affirmed for iconoclastic Reformers the essential materiality of the image that negated the possibility of it pointing beyond itself to the immaterial. For iconoclasts approaching from this conception, it was this very (material) power of images, not their impotence, that necessitated their removal or destruction.

Although Enlightenment rationalism turned the intellectual tide in later centuries towards the passivity of images, considering them in terms of form and value rather than of agency, and focusing on the active response of the viewer rather than the agency of the image, theories taking images seriously as sites of power have recurred. Through the *psychologie nouvelle* of Jean-Martin Charcot and Hippolyte Bernheim in late nineteenth-century France, the idea that over-stimulating effects of modern metropolitan visuality were causally linked to a nervous psychological malaise, affecting both individuals and society at large, became absorbed into popular consciousness. The sheer scale of visual stimuli in the late-nineteenth century metropolis was seen as unsettling, and pathologised as potentially destructive to the human mind. Furthermore, the psychological suggestiveness of images and the visual was, according to Bernheim, an influential intrusion of external elements on the consciousness, more unpredictable than rationally-motivated action, but no less powerful.[21]

A century later, in the late 1980s, a proposed return to conceptions of active images emerged in David Freedberg's *Power of Images*. Published in 1989, it posed the challenge that the ability of images to arouse response should be recognised universally, and not confined to the 'primitive', 'childish' responses of the uncivilised Other, as the 'rational' Western academy had been wont to do during the twentieth century.[22] Indeed, it is easy to acknowledge the power of images in the past, or in other (particularly polytheistic) cultures, but tempting to deny that their power survived into Western modernity, let alone to the

'The extent to which the rise in the worship of images in the late Middle Ages was influenced by contemporary theories of vision', *Scottish Journal of Theology* 60:1 (2007), 40. This theory necessitated the training of the eye to see the invisible through the visible; as the untrained eye sees only the visible, it is liable to idolatry.

[21] Debora L. Silverman, *Art Nouveau in Fin-de-siècle France: Politics, Psychology, and Style* (Oxford: University of California Press, 1989), 75-77, 86-87.

[22] David Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 1989).

present time. Freedberg set out consciously – even polemically – to show that this is not the case; that images continue to exert power, and that their effects can be studied, their successes and failures examined. Freedberg speaks of this image-viewer encounter in relational terms. He suggests that images external to the beholder can have 'effectiveness, efficacy, and vitality', operating as active participants in the relationship.[23] Mitchell's 2005 monograph entitled *What do pictures want?* is suggesive of the persistence of this sense that images can exert claims or demands on us.

Evidence of the seeming power of images is rich within the Christian tradition: statues weep, bleed, and heal, icons perform intercessory functions, banners are carried into battle to confer victorious power. Typically, consecration rituals either confer these powers on a material image (as in the consecration of altarpieces in the Roman Catholic church in order to render them worthy of veneration and capable of intercessory action), or sanctify an image already known to have power (as in 'the transfer of a miracle-working image from grubby street corner to glittering enshrinement in a specially built church or chapel').[24] There is at work here a complexity of relations between divine power, human authority, popular praxis, and the material image that has bred conflict over who can control images, whether and how power inheres within them, and how such images should be treated. At their most intense, these debates have erupted into instances of iconoclasm, for example where belief in the power of images has been criticised as arising from a perceptual fusion of the image and its referent, of the signifier and the signified.[25] This supposed ontological confusion, and its attendant cultic veneration of the image-sign, has been interpreted as idolatrous worship rather than the devotion being transferred to the God it signifies, or as a 'fetishism' that claims spiritual agency for something that is 'mere matter'.[26]

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[23] Freedberg, *Power of Images*, xxii.
[24] Freedberg, *Power of Images,* 284.
[25] For detail on semiotics and the division of signifier from signified, see Roland Barthes, *Elements of Semiology,* trans. Annette Lavers and Colin Smith (New York: Hill and Wang, 1977); for a critique of the idea that there is a stable 'signified' that is separable from its (linguistic or visual) signifier, see Martin McQuillan, *Roland Barthes (Or the Profession of Cultural Studies)* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 36-37, 134-135.
[26] Dominic Janes, *Victorian Reformation: The Fight over Idolatry in the Church of England, 1840-1860* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 15-16.

Foregrounding experiential, performative, and affective elements of the relations between people and images is a helpful, and perhaps a necessary, corrective to the critical-historical approaches that characterised earlier art history and cultural studies. But, as Keith Moxey and, more vehemently, Janet Wolff have rightly cautioned, language of immediacy, agency and presence in relation to image should not be reduced to a new form of animism.[27] Just as Belting qualifies his assertions by pointing to the imaginative 'act of animation' on the part of the viewer that activates image presence, I would argue that images are not alive or active in a literal sense, but can nevertheless affect viewers in ways that lead to language being used of them as if they were.[28] Images can be powerful, in their physical presence, but also in their immaterial forms within personal and social imaginations.

The definition of image I propose to work with is certainly that of the visual (rather than literary or figurative), but is equally certainly not confined to the pictorial in a narrow sense. I do not want to abandon critical, analytic approaches in favour of the purely phenomenological, but neither do I want to draw an impermeable line between the two. It is particularly important in considering intercultural image interactions that assumptions about experiential, animist 'primitives' are not rigidly juxtaposed against the critical, rational approach of the 'civilised' West. In Mitchell's phrase, there is a 'double consciousness' when it comes to images, whether we are modern (or postmodern) Western subjects, or not: 'I believe that magical attitudes towards images are just as powerful in the modern world as they were in so-called ages of faith. I also believe that the ages of faith were a bit more skeptical than we give them credit for'.[29]

2.2 What is visual culture?

To make sense not only of individual images, but of patterns of images and their uses, the idea of 'visual culture' now comes into play. Visual studies and visual culture have been gaining momentum respectively as a method of study, and a

[27] Keith Moxey, in 'Visual Studies and the Iconic Turn', *Journal of Visual Culture* 7:2 (2008), 131-146, surveys key literature on this subject, and concludes that although 'presence' is an important element in the function and interpretation of images, '[t]he ways in which objects call to us, their animation, their apparent autonomy, stem only from their association with us' (104); Janet Wolff, 'After Cultural Theory: The Power of Images, the Lure of Immediacy' *Journal of Visual Culture* 11:1 (2012), 3-19.
[28] Belting, *Anthropology,* 19-20.
[29] Mitchell, *What do Pictures Want?,* 8.

subject.[30] It is not uncommon for universities in the UK and the US to run visual studies courses at undergraduate and postgraduate levels (University of Brighton, University of Nottingham, University of Pennsylvania), and some art history departments have incorporated visual studies more explicitly into their wider remit (University of Manchester, Duke University).[31] A survey of recent monographs and academic journals reveals that scholarship across a wide variety of disciplines today is engaged in explorations across a broad spectrum of so-called visual culture. Such a body of publications serves to highlight the current interest in the visual, and reveals the diversity of the field, encompassing religion, science, sociology, anthropology, the performing arts, art history and social history, and a corresponding range of theoretical and practical approaches.[32] In order to attempt a definition, I begin with visual culture's relationship to art history, which it is perhaps most often associated with, but the primary focus will be on the influence of cultural studies, and the importance of 'ocularcentrism' and ways of seeing.

The close association of the concept of visual culture with art history is testified to by its common placing within academic institutions. Art history, under the influence of Hegelian and Marxist philosophies, increasingly recognised contextual and cultural elements as significant in the last century, and feminist and postcolonial approaches have since given greater emphasis to the role of the viewer/enquirer in the understanding of art. Despite these developments, art-historical enquiry by definition begins with 'art' as a recognisable and exclusive category of things distinct from popular culture. Cultural studies, visual culture's second central originating influence, counteracts this limitation.

[30] Mitchell's definition of the two terms in this way is quoted (and disputed) by Sunil Manghani, 'Third Introduction: Visual Studies, or This is Not a Diagram', in *Farewell to Visual Studies*, ed. James Elkins, Gustav Frank and Sunil Manghani (Penn State Press, 2015), 23.

[31] https://www.sas.upenn.edu/visual-studies/; https://www.brighton.ac.uk/courses/study/visual-culture-ba-hons.aspx; https://www.nottingham.ac.uk/pgstudy/courses/art-history/visual-culture-ma.aspx; http://www.alc.manchester.ac.uk/art-history-and-visual-studies/; https://aahvs.duke.edu/ [accessed 28.11.16].

[32] James Elkins describes this diversity thus: 'at the moment, visual studies is the best place to study visuality and images in general. It blends art history, cultural studies, sociology, visual anthropology, film studies, media studies, postcolonial studies, philosophy of history, the science of vision, and science studies. It promises a new interdisciplinarity (or transdisciplinarity, or subdisciplinarity, or indisciplinarity, or postdisciplinarity), and it is effectively a laboratory for thinking about relations between fields that address the visual'. 'First Introduction: Starting Points', in *Farewell to Visual Studies*, ed. James Elkins, Gustav Frank & Sunil Manghani (Penn State Press, 2015), 13.

The influence of cultural studies has added a breadth to the idea of visual culture that art history alone was ill-placed to do. Raymond Williams' 1958 *Culture and Society* marked an extension, if not the beginning, of an approach that eschewed traditional notions of high art and culture as the legitimate sites of academic enquiry, in favour of a more inclusive idea of culture as the totality of a society's way of life:[33]

> *Culture*, therefore, is constructed out of consonant and aggregating meanings that are shaped in relation to a given social group's values, ethics, interests and ideologies. Culture may become evident in the material text (speech, image, sound, words) and in practices (human actions, audience behaviours, and so on). However […] culture is also dynamic and replete with disputes over meaning and various claims for meaning primacy.[34]

In such a reconfiguration, high art is no longer privileged, but is subsumed by the categories of 'material text' and 'practice'.[35] This cultural approach developed through the 1960s and 1970s, with Stuart Hall and Richard Hoggart at the University of Birmingham's Centre for Contemporary Cultural Study at the forefront of this deconstructive, anti-establishment academic movement. Interested in sub, mass, and popular cultures rather than high Culture, and increasingly concerned with issues of race and gender, this was a deeply political development.[36]

Influenced by this 'cultural turn',[37] scholars in the 1980s took another turn, this time toward the visual as a context within which to apply tools of critical and art historical theory to an expanded, anti-canonical plurality of visual images. Thus high Art continued to constitute a legitimate, but not privileged, subject of study, whilst elements of the more radical political stance of cultural studies were also taken on board. Visual culture refers to the visual elements of a society that form and reflect it, and visual studies the consideration of the visual within the context

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[33] Raymond Williams, *Culture and Society 1780-1950* (New York: Doubleday, 1960), xvi-xvii; see also Catherine Gallagher, 'Raymond Williams and Cultural Studies,' *Social Text* 30 (1992), 81-82.

[34] Jeff Lewis, *Cultural Studies: The Basics* (London: Sage, 2008), 6.

[35] See also Margaret Dikovitskaya, *The Study of the Visual after the Cultural Turn* (London: MIT Press, 2005), 1.

[36] Gregor McLennan, 'Sociology, Cultural Studies and the Cultural Turn', in *The Palgrave Handbook of Sociology in Britain*, ed. J. Holmwood and J. Scott (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 511-512; see also Janice Peck, 'Itinerary of a Thought: Stuart Hall, Cultural Studies, and the Unresolved Problem of the Relation of Culture to "Not Culture"' *Cultural Critique* 48 (2001), 200-249.

[37] For discussion of the so-called 'cultural turn', see for example McLennan, 'Sociology'; Dikovitskaya, *Visual after the Cultural Turn*; David Chaney, *The Cultural Turn: Scene Setting Essays on Contemporary Cultural History* (London: Routledge, 2002).

of cultural production and reception. As such, it is necessarily interdisciplinary, drawing on a range of disciplinary tools and traditions, including anthropology, sociology, history, film and theatre, and communication studies. It also moves beyond cultural studies in its embrace of material and phenomenological elements that cultural studies, with its socio-political bent, ignored.

As a consequence of the explicit acknowledgment of the material within the study of visual culture, a distinction should be made (at least for the purposes of delineating the boundaries of my own research) between visual and material culture. Insofar as images are materially embodied, they are an aspect of material culture.[38] The journal *Material Religion,* edited by some of the key figures in religious visual culture scholarship, embraces art and image as part of wider material culture. It 'seeks to explore how religion happens in material culture – images, devotional and liturgical objects, architecture and sacred space, works of arts and mass-produced artefacts'.[39] Given that much that might be classified as image is encountered via material form (Belting's *mediality*), the materiality of visual artefacts cannot be ignored. Particularly where the use of such artefacts is under investigation, materiality can be of central importance.

This is certainly the case in relation to ritual practice associated with objects, such as the cultic acts of touching or kissing of icons already mentioned. Other examples might include the embodied rituals of death and mourning, and the use of symbolic foods such as the hot cross bun, or items commemorating the lives of saints, which are visual cues of association and remembrance that can also be touched and tasted. Buildings too can function within the nexus of ritual interactions. Architectural design, for aesthetic and functional purpose, contributes to the ways in which built spaces are used, but also to their symbolic roles, to which theme I will later return in relation to missionary buildings.

Nevertheless, not all objects of material culture are also wholly incorporated within visual culture, and not everything classed as visual culture is material. Furniture, clothing, and symbolic foods, for instance, are part of material culture and might be studied to gain insight into social practices, gender, childhood, public

[38] Indeed, their temporally-bound materiality was viewed by Zwingli as fundamental to images' inability to give expression to the invisible and eternal God; see Dyrness, *Reformed Theology*, 59-60.
[39] *Material Religion: the journal of objects, art and belief, 11.3* (2015), frontmatter.

life, and so on.[40] Aspects of such items, insofar as their significance relies upon their visuality, are undoubtedly part of visual culture, but in their entirety they are not. As Dikovitskaya cautions, the visual is not the same as the visible: visual culture is not the sum of all that is seen.[41] Conversely, Mitchell has argued that the delineation of visual culture relies upon the presence of the not-visual, and thereby challenges the ocularcentrism that has driven much visual studies scholarship.[42] All media, as Mitchell declares in the same article, are mixed-media, incorporating a range of sensory aspects: the hot cross bun's visuality is accompanied by olfactory, tactile and gustatory elements no less essential to its material and functional being.[43]

A working definition of visual culture, formed so far of cultural and material elements, will not be complete without viewers themselves being accorded a role in its enactment and formation. While the medium of an image is important, along with the socio-political context of its creation and function, response (or reception) on the part of those who see the image with their own eyes is also essential to the culture of the visual.[44] In foregrounding the viewer, images in themselves and image-makers are decentralised, as meaning becomes to an extent dependent upon the image-viewer. The meaning(s) found within an image, or rather in an encounter with an image, in turn depends upon the viewer's culturally-influenced 'way of seeing'. John Berger's influential book, itself entitled *Ways of Seeing* (1972), gave early voice to this approach. He claimed that 'every image embodies a way of seeing', because 'we only see what we look at. To look is an act of choice', and also because the way we see is influenced by personal and cultural knowledge and beliefs.[45]

Because ways of seeing are heterogeneous, and not just on a national or even regional scale, it makes more sense to talk about a visual culture *of* something,

[40] See for example Anna-Karina Hermkens, 'Clothes as Embodied Experience of Belief' in *Religion and Material Culture: The Matter of Belief*, ed. David Morgan (London: Routledge, 2010); Casey Golomski, 'Wearing Memories: Clothing and the Global Lives of Mourning in Swaziland,' *Material Religion 11.3* (2015) 303-328.

[41] Dikovitskaya, *Visual after the Cultural Turn*, 33.

[42] Mitchell, 'Showing seeing', 170, 179.

[43] Mitchell, 'Showing seeing', 170; for a discussion of the senses in cultural and religious history, see Constance Classen, *The Color of Angels: Cosmology, gender and the aesthetic imagination* (London: Routledge, 1998); also David Howes and Constance Classen, *Ways of Seeing: Understanding the Senses in Society* (London: Routledge, 2014).

[44] This is a point made strongly by Freedberg in his *Power of Images*.

[45] Berger, *Ways of Seeing,* 8,10.

rather than visual culture per se. A visual culture is specific to groups who share not only images, but understandings of (or ways of seeing) them. Such groups may be broad (visual culture of 1840s Britain), or even broader (Western visual culture), but could be narrow (visual culture of 1840s British Protestants), or narrower still (visual culture of 1840s evangelical Anglicans in southern England). In reality, people participate in both broad and narrow visual cultures. Furthermore, visual cultures change and adapt so that, for instance, when we come to look at missionaries operating overseas, their visual culture will look different from that of their fellows back home, as the influences of other Westerners, local people, geographical and practical opportunities and limitations determine its make-up.

2.3 Christianity and visual art to the Reformation

These questions of definition are not only academically interesting, but of profound significance for Christianity throughout its history. In the context of this research, the relation of Protestant Christianity to art, image and visual culture is key, but as a preface to that, a brief survey of changing ideas, art, and associations with the visual provides valuable contextualisation. Some of the ideas and trends around image production and use – and even images themselves – found in the history of the church will recur in later discussions of missionary visual culture, so are worthy of summary consideration.

Many of the issues within the Church around the use of visual media come from the scriptural tension between the second commandment's proscription against image-making 'whether in the form of anything that is in heaven above, or that is on the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth' (Exod. 20:4), and dual affirmation of divine image-making in humanity in general (Gen. 1:26), and of Christ in particular (Col. 1:15). Much has also been made of early Christianity's heritage in supposedly aniconic Judaism, particularly by iconophobic sixteenth-century Reformers. In reality, as the evidence of Dura-Europos and the Roman catacombs attest, Christianity's positive links with art and visual culture far predate the Renaissance canon, Medieval art, or even Byzantine iconography. Heavily influenced by Graeco-Roman art, pictures from the catacombs show an exploratory, uninhibited image-making that utilised pagan heroes to express Christian soteriological belief. Hercules, the saviour who banishes evil and

conquers death,[46] Orpheus the deliverer,[47] Apollo, Dionysus, and Sol Invictus, the sun god of the Roman legions, are all recognisable within what is nevertheless a clearly Christian context. Whether this 'residual iconography'[48] of pagan religions resulted from the limited repertoires of artisans,[49] were a front to conceal a persecuted movement,[50] or reflected a belief that all that went before was now fully realised in Christ,[51] they are a fascinating collection of hybrid images that challenge received notions of Christian art today. These are images functioning as a 'way of thinking out loud', a theological thought-process that can reveal much about the workings of the early church.[52]

While the imperial image of Christ Pantocrator, influenced not by the youthful Apollo or Dionysus, but by Zeus the father of the gods, and by the image of the emperor himself, has been widely thought to characterise early christological art, Mathews has persuasively challenged such a reduction. Although the status of Christianity as a state-endorsed religion under Constantine altered the available media and contexts of its image-making, Mathews argues that it did not result in a univocal, imperial visual expression. No longer limited to funereal images of private solace for a persecuted community, Christian visualisations became grander and more public, but also more creative, evoking a 'chameleon Christ' who was magician and philosopher, woman and man, lamb and ruler of all.[53] Art was employed not only to affirm a hierarchically positioned Christ, but also as a tool of subversion by conveying alternative, 'heretical' theologies, as with the Arian mosaic in the Byzantine Baptistery of the sixth-century Arian church of Sant'Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna.[54] The appearance of Christ in art and image

[46] Goodenough, 'Catacombs', 125-126, 138.
[47] John W. de Gruchy, *Art and Transformation: Theological aesthetics in the struggle for justice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 20.
[48] Talloen, 'From Pagan to Christian', 588.
[49] Mathews, *Clash*, 33.
[50] Ron O'Grady, ed., *Christ for All People: Celebrating a World of Christian Art* (Geneva: WCC Publications, 2001), 11. Christians were persecuted under Roman rule, to a greater or lesser extent, prior to Constantine I's 313CE Edict of Milan, which legislated for toleration; persecution recurred later in the fourth century, for example under Julian 'the Apostate' (361-363).
[51] Goodenough, 'Catacombs,' 142.
[52] Mathews, *Clash,* 141.
[53] 'Christ Chameleon' is the title of Chapter 5 of Mathews, *Clash*, 115-141.
[54] Neil MacGregor and Erika Langmuir, *Seeing Salvation: Images of Christ in Art* (London: BBC Worldwide, 2000), 79-81; see also R.Malcolm Errington, *Roman Imperial Policy from Julian to Theodosius* (University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 171-172, and Annie E. Coombes, 'Nursing Mother, Ancient Shepherd, Athletic Coach? Some Images of Christ in the Early Church', in *Images of Christ Ancient and Modern*, ed. S. Porter, M. Hayes and D. Tombs (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 113.

has continued to be a site for subversion of orthodoxy, and for the affirmation of traditional doctrine, to the present time.

It was not always enough to adopt and adapt images in order to tame and remould them into Christian service. The iconoclastic controversy that marred Byzantine Christianity from the 720s grew from a long-standing unease over the power and place of images, and whether they could be tamed at all. As early as the fourth century, the ascetic Evagrios of Pontus argued against even mental imagining during acts of prayer (as too did Huldrych Zwingli in the sixteenth century).[55] Despite the eventual vitory of the Byzantine iconophiles, and the affirmation of images at the Second Council of Nicaea in 787, in the West, the *Libri Carolini* (ca.793) expressed ongoing Carolingian concerns over Nicaea's pro-image stance, though it received relatively little public circulation until taken up by Calvin eight centuries later.[56]

Without papal or popular support, Carolingian iconophobia did not take hold, and during the ensuing Medieval period religious image production flourished in the West. From the tenth century, naturalistic crucifix images became prevalent, the earliest known being the stark *Cross of Gero* in Cologne Cathedral.[57] Romanesque art and architecture developed the medieval Christian aesthetic, and in the later Gothic style, increased sophistication and importance was given to stained glass windows in which narrative and symbolic imagery combined with the mystical effects of light flowing through them.

The Renaissance period, which marks the oft-cited point of departure from image-making to art, saw the rise of some of the most celebrated religious artists. Beginning in fifteenth century Italy with artists such as Giotto and Bellini, the peak of its achievements came in the high Renaissance of the sixteenth century, with Leonardo da Vinci, Raphael, Michelangelo, Titian and Tintoretto. During the same period, the Flemish art of Northern Europe developed, for instance in the works of Jan van Eyck.

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[55] Nicholas Constas, 'Icons and the Imagination,' *Logos: A Journal of Catholic Thought and Culture*, 1.1 (1997), 114.

[56] Ann Freeman, 'Carolingian Orthodoxy and the Fate of the "Libri Carolini"' *Viator* 16 (1985), 65-108; James R. Payton, Jr, 'Calvin and the Libri Carolini' *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 28.2 (1997), 467-480.

[57] Honour and Fleming, *World History,* 356-7.

This outline from antique to medieval and Renaissance periods, though necessarily brief, highlights the strong and enduring links between Christianity and art/image. However, the question of what *Protestant* Christianity has to do with visual art elicits some rather different answers. Commonly associated with the rejection of art and adornment, with violent iconoclasm and ecclesiastical asceticism, the Protestant Reformation self-consciously elevated word at the expense of image. Amongst the early reformers, Andreas Karlstadt in his 1522 treatise *On the Abolition of Images* attacked cultic practices associated with image, founding his objections on the scriptural imperative that 'Thou shalt have no other gods before me'.[58] He demanded wide-reaching changes to worship in Wittenberg, including the violent purging of images from churches.[59] Meanwhile in Zurich, Zwingli was instrumental in the wholesale, but peaceful, removal of images in 1524 from the city's churches.[60] His complaint against images was as much about their status as antithetical to justification by faith, as about their idolatrous misuse. The following decade Jean Calvin, with what was to become far-reaching influence, rejected pictorialised religious forms in his 1536 *Institutes*, at least within the sanctuary, as they went against the idea of spiritual worship.[61] Fundamentally concerned with a transcendent, invisible God, to whom was due pure and uncorrupted worship, Calvin held a dim view of ecclesial imagery, even positing a mythical aniconic early Christianity to which the church should return.[62]

Although Karlstad, Zwingli, and Calvin are identified by Sergiusz Michalski as the Reformation's iconophobes, and others including Scotland's fiery John Knox were deeply opposed to imagery within the church, their positions were not as strictly unequivocal as we might think. Calvin's position softened, with the 1543 revision of the *Institutes,* and his *Geneva Catechism* of the same year, allowing for the possibility of art that did not represent God, and was not for the worship of God.[63] Furthermore, Randall C. Zachman has posited that Calvin's theology does

[58] Sergiusz Michalski, *The Reformation and the Visual Arts: The Protestant image question in Western and Eastern Europe* (London: Routledge, 1993),44-45.
[59] Michalski, *Reformation*, 43-44; Michael O'Connell, *The Idolatrous Eye: Iconoclasm and Theater in Early-modern England*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 52.
[60] Belting, *Likeness and Presence,* 545.
[61] Christopher Joby, 'Histories and Landscapes: Two Categories of Artwork Suitable for Reformed Churches' *Reformation & Renaissance Review* 7:2-3 (2007), 211.
[62] Michalski, *Reformation,* 69.
[63] Joby, 'Histories and Landscapes,' 213; Belting, *Likeness and Presence,* 551.

not categorically position Word/hearing in opposition to image/sight, but is characterised by 'the interdependence of the Word and work of God, or proclamation and manifestation'; that is, of the necessity of both hearing and sight, and the role of the visible in leading believers to the invisible God.[64] As well as scripture forming God-given, 'living images', the Word was to inform the believer's approach to external visual signs, for example within creation. These images, if Zachman's reading of Calvin is correct, were believed to aid the faithful in finding the invisible God.

Nevertheless, pictorial or figural images were severely limited within the walls of Reformed churches. What emerged in their place were textual adornments, including the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments, and, in England, the royal coat of arms. While the former made scripture into visually arresting 'manifestation[s] of the word of God',[65] the latter reflected the politically-charged context of the Reformation in Britain. Thus, although Reformed theology clearly had a profound effect on ecclesial decoration, there is an increasingly nuanced scholarly space within which the value of the visual and the visible may be reassessed in its theology. Despite vehement opposition to certain types, uses, and presentations of images, arguments for the total banning of all images – as desired by Swiss reformer Ludwig Hätzer (ca. 1500-1529) – were rare.[66]

Martin Luther's attitude to art can be distinguished from these Reformed positions, at least by the degree to which he was prepared, despite reservations, to accept that it retained a place within the church. For Luther, art was objectionable insofar as it was extra-biblical, and was associated with the belief in the salvific efficacy of good works, against which his theology of grace railed.[67] Where it was of benign or neutral effect, however, he accepted a use for images

[64] Randall C. Zachman, *Image and Word in the Theology of John Calvin* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007); Zachman distinguishes 'dead images' made by humans, and condemned by Calvin as barriers to finding God, and 'living images' instituted by God, and including not only the sacraments, but the Word itself.

[65] Michalski, *Reformation,* 70; There is a linked tradition of use of the Tetragrammaton as a text-image of God. See Margaret Aston, 'Symbols of Conversion: Properties of the Page in Reformation England', in *Printed Images in Early Modern Britain: essays in interpretation*, ed. Michael Hunter (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 23-24.

[66] Joby highlights that Zwingli, Calvin, and other Reformers including Martin Bucer, acknowledged a role for history paintings as educational, 'Histories and Landscapes', 209-210.

[67] Michalski, *Reformation*, 5.

as instructional tools, particularly for those of weak faith.[68] As Luther's position developed over time, he came to a greater understanding of pictures as positive tools within the church. The oral word had primacy, but written text and religious pictures could also aid understanding. For Luther, the objection became not so much to image-as-such, but to their abuse through behaviours associated with their veneration.[69] Artworks produced by Luther's friend, Lucas Cranach the Elder (1472-1553), affirm this position. Cranach's altar panels, for instance, gave visual expression to Luther's theology. The impressive Gotha altar panel, which includes 157 panels depicting scenes from the life of Christ, is a combination of image and text that emphasises Luther's acceptance of art only on the condition of its pedagogical function, and positions ecclesial imagery with that found within the printed material more commonly associated with reformation image-making. [70]

Early Protestant art was characterised not only by narrative and allegorical works, but also by portraiture. Lucas Cranach's 1533 portrait of Martin Luther, Hans Holbein the Younger's *Erasmus of Rotterdam* (c.1523), and Albrecht Dürer's plain portrait-style *Four Apostles* of 1526 are prominent examples[71] of this trend that sought to show 'models of faith', rather than the old saints as 'mediators of salvation'.[72] The continued importance of the portrait as part of Protestant visual culture will be returned to in the next chapter, in relation to nineteenth-century practices.

Britain, which had functioned in the early sixteenth century as a haven for artists (including Hans Holbein) who no longer had sufficient patronage on the continent to support them, also became increasingly iconophobic. Beginning with Henry VIII's English reformation, and accelerated under the more hard-line reforms of Edward VI, centuries of images were destroyed or removed. After the brief hiatus of Mary's Catholic reversals, Elizabethan injunctions imposed further strongly anti-image policies, both on ecclesial imagery, and that displayed in the

[68] Michalski, *Reformation,* 14; also John Dillenberger, *Images and Relics: Theological Perceptions and Visual Images in Sixteenth-century Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).
[69] Carlos M.N. Eire, *War Against the Idols: The Reformation of Worship from Erasmus to Calvin* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 67-68.
[70] Bonnie Noble, *Lucas Cranach the Elder: Art and Devotion of the German Reformation* (Plymouth: University Press of America, 2009), 74.
[71] Honour and Fleming, *World History*, 463.
[72] Joseph Leo Koerner, *The Reformation of the Image* (Reaktion Books, 2004), 67.

domestic sphere.[73] The Second Book of Homilies affirmed this antagonistic stance, denying even the didactic value of images within the religious sphere.[74] In Scotland, Knox's radical Calvinist reforms also displayed an iconoclastic vigour, in which the trappings of Roman Catholic worship were stripped from churches, walls were whitewashed, and interiors reconfigured around the preaching pulpit. The ecclesial murals of the pre-Reformation period were virtually erased, not to be revived until the nineteenth century.[75] Alternative decorations replaced the old iconicity. As well as textual displays of scripture, other texts were publically visualised, as with the words 'This is ye place apoyntit for publick repentence' commissioned to be painted on a pillar at St Giles Church, Edinburgh in 1565.[76] Some civic imagery also remained, for instance the heraldic panels at Edinburgh's Magdalene Chapel, which are a unique example of unbroken medieval stained glass in Scotland.[77]

While the occurrence of a seismic shift in the relationship between Christianity and art through the Reformation is widely acknowledged,[78] recognition of precedence and continuities, and the nuances of distinct Reformers' theologies of the visual, is also necessary. Dyrness writes of the 'clean break' Protestant Christianity made with earlier visual norms, but sees also the continuation of visual, material, aesthetic expressions and experiences of faith, albeit in reoriented, converted forms.[79] The iconicity of the Roman church had been left behind, but a new Protestant aesthetic had emerged – a reformed visual culture that altered not only the pictures it used but where pictures were appropriate, and what counted as visual subject (text as image).

[73] Tara Hamling, *Decorating the 'Godly' Household: Religious art in post-reformation Britain* (London: Yale University Press, 2010), 40-41.
[74] George Pattison, *Art, Modernity and Faith: Restoring the Image* (London: SCM, 1998), 19.
[75] Clare Willsdon, *Mural Painting in Britain 1840-1940: Image and Meaning* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 213.
[76] Andrew Spicer, 'Iconoclasm and Adaptation: the Reformation of the churches in Scotland and the Netherlands', in *The Archaeology of Reformation, 1480-1580*, ed. David R. M. Gaimster and Roberta Gilchrist (Leeds: Northern Universities Press, 2003), 34.
[77] Spicer, 'Iconoclasm and Adaptation', 39.
[78] See for example Eire, *War Against the Idols*; Dyrness, *Reformed Theology.*
[79] Dyrness, *Reformed Theology,* 6.

2.4 Protestant visual culture

By widening the art-religion relationship in Protestant Christianity to incorporate wider visual culture, the negative perceptions outlined above are somewhat altered. The importance of changing attitudes to art and image in the sixteenth century is not diminshed, but a broader conception of images enables a more positive relation to emerge. The Reformers' use of new printing technologies to disseminate ideas (which has been acknowledged as a vital part of the Reform movement), was not only textual, but pictorial, with Reformation pamphlets illustrated with anti-papal woodcuts notably widespread.[80] Luther, already acknowledged for his collaborations with Lucas Cranach the Elder, was responsible for a widely circulated German Bible, also illustrated by the Cranach school. In a literalisation of Gregory the Great's 'bibles for the illiterate,' Luther even advocated a pictorial scripture book that could be the 'lay man's bible' for those who could not read.[81] Gregory's comments originally referred to wall painting within churches at a time when those who could not read would have had no direct access to books, illustrated or otherwise; in a new world of mass printing, books, pamphlets and tracts became visually available to an audience not as strictly limited by wealth or literacy. As such they were also exploited as propaganda opportunities, as with negative visual portrayals of the Pope, and the inclusion of royal arms within Bible editions, mirroring their appearance in churches.[82]

This new and varied visual culture continued not only to exist within the new Protestant landscape, but to develop and adapt through the sixteenth and into the seventeenth centuries. In England, despite the official statements opposing images in private and public settings from 1560s to 1580s, and renewed opposition to representations of God in the 1630s,[83] there is clear evidence that visual images continued to be used, particularly in domestic and public contexts. Tara Hamling's research on domestic and decorative arts in the British post-reformation period has highlighted the continued breadth of artistic productions that fall under the category 'visual culture,' but would be excluded from traditional categorisations

[80] Dillenberger, *Images and Relics*, 81-82; Luther's own vernacular *German New Testament* also contained illustrations that functioned as anti-papal propaganda. See Mark U. Edwards, Jr., *Printing, Propaganda, and Martin Luther* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995), 123-125.
[81] Dillenberger, *Images and Relics*, 92-93.
[82] David Paisey and Giulia Bartrum, 'Hans Holbein and Miles Coverdale: A New Woodcut' *Print Quarterly* 26:3 (2009), 247.
[83] Hamling, *'Godly' Household*, 4.

of visual art. Surface decoration of domestic interiors, along with furniture, textiles, and ceramics, were produced in this period with scripturally themed imagery. Illustrated bibles continued to circulate, even when Crown copyright of the King James text and the anti-image strictures of the English Puritans combined in the mid-seventeenth to mid-eighteenth centuries to make their production difficult.[84] At a time when continental Protestant bibles were being produced with lavish integral illustrations, and the religious emotionalism of the Baroque art of Rembrandt, Caravaggio and Poussin was spreading from Rome across Europe and beyond,[85] English illustrations were a poor relation. Nevertheless, separately printed sheets were available for insertion into English bibles, and also for domestic display.[86] Possibilities also increased in the eighteenth century, with abridged and illustrated versions of the bible able to circumvent ongoing copyright issues, and feed the popular desire for a pictorial element to scripture.

In the nineteenth century, changes in technology and society altered the visual cultural landscape of Protestant Britain further; this will be the subject of more detailed exploration in Chapters 3 and 4. The advent of photography, reductions in the cost of image reproductions, theories of social and religious edification through access to the refined and the beautiful,[87] and greater ease of travel, combined with more of the population enjoying leisure time, enabled both wider access to public museums, galleries and exhibitions, and increased availability of popular visual ephemera. Photographic postcards of preachers were, for example, hugely popular in the late nineteenth century. The Victorian era was one of visuality, of a fascination with seeing: new technologies of seeing, new things to see with increased global travel, and telescopic and microscopic technologies, but also new perspectives afforded by innovations such as high-speed rail travel, and balloon flights.[88] Protestant churches could not help but be

[84] G. E. Bentley, 'Images of the Word: Separately Published English Bible Illustrations 1539-1830' *Studies in Bibliography* 47 (1994), 103-128 (105).
[85] Honour and Fleming, *World History,* 571-2; in architecture, the exuberance of the Baroque did briefly flourish in the works of Christopher Wren, John Vanburgh and Nicholas Hawksmoor, but was superseded by the 1730s by the more sedate Georgian style.
[86] Bentley, 'Images', 108.
[87] Of which John Ruskin is the pre-eminent example.
[88] Kate Flint, *The Victorians and the Visual Imagination* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 8-9; also Jonathan Crary, *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century* (London: MIT Press, 1996), 8.

influenced by these broader developments in Europe and North America, and not only through antagonism and resistance.

A fascination with the connections between the visible and invisible, which included the wonders of the microscopic, was part of this interest in seeing, and directly related to religion. It is evident in Romanticism's drive to see God through nature and emotion, and in efforts to reconnect with or revive past religiosity through the Celtic Revival, or the Anglo-Catholic Oxford Movement.[89] The Pre-Raphaelite art of Holman Hunt, Gabriel Dante Rossetti and John Everett Millais, striving not so much to revive past style as to depict the minutiae of naturalistic details, sought an honesty of presentation and emotional appeal. Hunt in particular turned this to religious purpose, his *The Light of the World* (1851-3) becoming an iconic vision; it even reached a global audience, as a later version toured the British Empire between 1905 and 1907, including a visit to South Africa. Into the twentieth century further modern iconic images of Christ emerged. At the forefront was Warner Sallman's 1940 *Head of Christ* that, as David Morgan has explored in some depth, became a symbol of modern Christian faith that succeeded in crossing denominational boundaries in its appeal, to become a national, as well as a religious, icon in the USA. So too beyond formal art, visual proclamations of the antiquity and authority of the church can be found in the architecture of the Gothic revival, and the reordering of England's church buildings. Even new nonconformist churches often adopted Gothic features, from arched windows and painted glass, to spires.

Today, Protestantism continues to have a distinctive visual culture, or rather a plurality of related cultures across geographic and theological boundaries. Evangelical Protestantism has a whole industry of religious memorabilia attached to it, from stationery to badges, coasters to calendars.[90] Even Calvinist church interiors in Scotland are not free of image, often adorned with hand-sewn banners, posters, and kneelers. In the Church of Scotland, the visual motif of the burning bush has appeared as a denominational emblem since 1691, and can still be seen displayed in church interiors across the country.[91] There is also a resurgence of

[89] Gerard Carruthers and Alan Rawes 'Introduction: Romancing the Celt', in *English Romanticism and the Celtic World*, ed. Gerard Carruthers and Alan Rawes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 1-4.
[90] Harvey, *Bible as Visual Culture*, 170-177.
[91] Church of Scotland, 'Church of Scotland Emblem' accessed 12 December, 2016, www.churchofscotland.org.uk/about_us/how_we_are_organised/church_emblem.

interest in more formal art as part of the contemporary visual culture of British Protestantism. New ecclesial art is being commissioned —the distorted cross in the leaded lines of Shirazeh Houshiary's *East Window*, St Martin-in-the-Fields (2008), or Maggi Hambling's *Resurrection Spirit* (2013), which hangs above the altar at St Dunstan's, Mayfield — and many churches, including St Paul's and Liverpool Cathedrals, host temporary exhibitions.[92] The global dissemination of images via media including film, television, and internet leads also to a more ecumenical sharing of religious imagery, and the availability of Christian imagery across cultural and denominational boundaries. Protestants, then, clearly have engaged in positive, if often conflicted, relationships with images throughout their history. By approaching through the lens of visual culture, as prominent scholars including David Morgan, Sally Promey, and S. Brent Plate in the US, and John Harvey in the UK, have begun to do, it is possible to see beyond high art and learned writings to the real-life (visual) practices of the faithful.

In this regard, relations between image and word, and image and (scriptural) Word, are of particular concern. In the iconophobic atmosphere of the Reformation, the use of words as images has already been identified, as with the textual decorations found in Reformed churches. A different kind of association of word and image led Reformers to concede (limited) value to images within certain contexts, through emphasis on their didactic function as 'readable' and therefore instructive. The idea of 'reading' an image has a long and debatable history. Gregory the Great's description of the image as the 'book of the illiterate' has been adopted, adapted and misunderstood through subsequent centuries. Emphasising the didactic value of pictures may have defended them in the face of iconoclasm, but it also led to a misunderstanding of their function. A picture in and of itself cannot tell us very much; we are dependent upon information external to the image itself in order to interpret it. In a Christian context, the ability of a viewer to understand an image, and therefore to stand any chance of being instructed by it as religious leaders might hope, depends upon a basic familiarity with the text it depicts. Meaning cannot, even in narrative, overtly didactic images, be confined within the limits of the referential text, but has the tendency to gain new meanings, and even to change understandings of the text it is supposed to be subsidiary to. Attempts to reduce

[92] Richard Harries, *The Image of Christ in Modern Art* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 125-126, 128-130.

image to text, as with the so-called 'iconographic approach', in which images are thought to be constructed 'as one builds up a sentence or a discourse, by using elements of different origin and combining them according to practices comparable to the rules of grammar',[93] respond inadequately to the difference in kind between text and image, and to the interpretative openness of an image in relation to an originating text.

In the Protestant context, where word was central to worship and to wider religious life, the need to define a relation between word and image was especially urgent. This impulse can be seen in sixteenth-century images of Luther preaching, in combinations of word and image as in Cranach's Lutheran altarpieces, and in illustrated Bibles and other books that unite picture and word in joint ventures of remembrance, interpretation and expression. In the Church of Scotland, the burning bush logo was introduced not as a visual image only, but as a word-image combination: the words *Nec Tamen Consumebatur* (it was not consumed) accompanied the bush image in its first incarnation in 1691. This combination enabled greater meaning to be attached to the picture, even the Latin wording itself being drawn not from the Vulgate, but from a later Protestant translation.[94]

2.5 Visual evidence in the study of mission

Visual culture has been established as the arena for the current project, and defined such that art is included but not privileged, and that the diverse material and mental images that constitute visual culture are important only alongside the ways in which they are seen. Key conflicts and concerns in Christian, and especially Protestant, history and theology have been outlined, and the importance of the visual affirmed despite them. In order to assess the role of the visual within a specifically missionary context, I turn now to consider its function as historical and theological evidence.

A useful place to begin is with Peter Burke, who advocates for the use of images within historical enquiry not as mere illustrations, but as substantive evidence. The content of pictures can provide evidence of changing attitudes to beauty, histories of the body, of sickness and health, social and domestic life. It

[93] André Grabar, *Christian Iconography: A Study of its Origins*, Bollingen Series XXXV (New York: Princeton University Press, 1968), 31.
[94] Church of Scotland, 'Emblem'.

can also, most relevantly for the current purpose, reveal information on material and visual culture. A photograph of a missionary classroom, for instance, can indicate the visual materials in use in that time and place in an educational context (see Figure 1, Madagascar classroom). It is, as Burke cautions, in the small details of paintings or photographs that evidence can most reliably be found, as the use of images in this way must be mindful of possibilities of fabrication, exaggeration or misinterpretation on the part of the image-maker, or the viewer.[95]

The content of many images found in my research, however, is external to the mission context, or to the context of missionaries' home societies (except as they might have appeared within their visual culture). Illustrations in Bibles or spiritual books such as the *Pilgrim's Progress*, illustrated magazines, art reproductions, and eclectic lantern slide sets are limited in their ability to demonstrate the practical appearance of images in mission life. Studying what these images were, and what their meaning or purpose might have been within that mission life, is nevertheless evidentially important. The recurrence of images within or across missions can reveal important information not only about their availability, but about their potential significance to the visual imagination of missionaries. In identifying and following these traces of the visual past, it is necessary to turn to text for evidence of images and their uses, in order to balance and enhance the information images themselves can yield.[96] Texts may mention images no longer extant, and provide information on the provenance of images, their uses, and attitudes towards them.

Attitudes, or responses more generally, to images are also evidence in themselves of meaning and importance. Assessing visual responses to missionary visual culture is one compelling avenue, which Martin Ott has held up explicitly as an evidential source. He writes of one

> function of African Christian art: that it may serve as a reliable source of mission history […] Observing how the dialogue of faith and culture, which is after all the main theme of Christian mission, is reflected in

[95] Burke, *Eyewitnessing*, 102.

[96] Burke, following Reiner, suggests that material from the past be considered as '"traces" of the past in the present', rather than as sources (of truth), acknowledging the partiality and incompleteness of such evidence, and the 'chain of intermediaries' through whom it passes; *Eyewitnessing*, 13.

> the visual arts can greatly enhance our understanding of the multiform ways by which the gospel has entered a given society.[97]

The art productions of a Christianised community may indeed give insights into missionary inputs and effects but, as well as foregrounding art, this approach relies upon more established Christian communities than existed in the times and places of the present study. In some parts of Africa, Christianity already had a long history by the mid-nineteenth century. This was the case in north Africa in particular, but also for example in the west central African kingdom of Kongo, in which distinctive Christian visual culture had begun to develop before the European Reformation.[98] Christian art from south-central Africa did not emerge until well into the twentieth century, and much early work came from within the Roman Catholic tradition, which made more deliberate efforts to foster indigenous art across the world. It was only from the mid-twentieth century that Western observers began to take more seriously African Christian art with, for example, the 1950 *Art of the Missions* exhibition in Rome, Arno Lehman's 1966 survey *Afroasiatische christliche Kunst,* and J.F. Thiel and Heinz Helf's *Christliche Kunst in Afrika,* published in 1984.

In the Protestant missions of nineteenth century southern Africa, then, indigenous visual art responses are not an evidential option. Rather, textual sources must be relied upon to provide evidence of African engagement with missionary visuality. Yet there is a great challenge in assessing African viewpoints, when textual traces of them are scarce and often mediated through Western missionaries, and the distinctive Christian image-making of their own communities lies far into the next century. Accounts of missionary activity are overwhelmingly penned by missionaries themselves, and the responses of African people interpreted through Western Protestant lenses. The misleadingly titled *Autobiography of an African* is a stark example of the tendency of the 'white man' to speak for the 'black man' and present it as truth. Donald Fraser reworked the writings of Daniel Mtusa after his death, publishing his words as autobiographical, acknowledging the fact of his own additions and amendments, but without making

[97] Ott, *African Theology,* 139.
[98] Cécile Fromont, *The Art of Conversion: Christian Visual Culture in the Kingdom of Kongo* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014), 1-4.

plain which elements were Donald, and which Daniel.[99] Such acts call to mind bell hook's issue with the privileged authoring and colonising the Other, on the basis that there is 'no need to hear your voice when I can talk about you better than you can speak about yourself'.[100] With this in mind, any texts purporting to show African responses must be treated with caution, as they may well say more about the reporter.

In this, postcolonial perspectives are useful. Postcolonial criticism has predominantly focused on texts, but can equally be applied in the analysis of images. Postcolonial literature demands the recognition of social, political and cultural factors in historical colonial interactions, but also, 'as a critical discursive practice, postcolonial criticism has initiated arresting analyses of texts and societies'.[101] Where art has been addressed within a postcolonial framework it has tended, as in the work of Annie E. Coombes, to concern Western aesthetic assessment and appropriation of works produced in colonies and postcolonies.[102] However, a key concern of postcolonialism is the representation of the Other, which in textual terms has meant interrogating who has the right to speak, and how. Many ongoing issues have been laid at the door of Protestant missionaries. Their concern for teaching literacy led to the development of new orthographies for previously oral languages, but in the process subtleties were misunderstood, and dialects falsely homogenised. This also resulted in the elevation of European languages (primarily English and French) as languages of knowledge and power. The reclamation of indigenous language as the medium for literature has been important in the development of postcolonial identity. So, while Kenyan novelist Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o' penned his early works in English, he shifted into his native Gikuyu in the early 1980s, self-consciously liberating himself and his readers from the 'spiritual subjugation' of foreign language.[103] Following the same critical

[99] That Donald Fraser himself is an example of progressive, inclusive missionary attitudes highlights the deep-rootedness of such colonising discourse; on Donald Fraser's relations with African voices and culture, see T. Jack Thompson, *Ngoni, Xhosa and Scot* (Zomba: Kachere Series, 2007), 75-93.
[100] bell hooks, *Yearnings Race, Gender and Cultural Politics* (Boston, MA: South End Press, 1990), 151.
[101] R.S. Sugirtharajah, *Postcolonial Reconfigurations: An Alternative Way of Reading the Bible and Doing Theology* (London: SCM Press, 2003), 4.
[102] Annie E. Coombes, 'The recalcitrant object: culture contact and the question of hybridity,' in *Colonial Discourse/Postcolonial Theory*, ed. Francis Barker, Peter Hulme, Margaret Iverson (Essex Symposia; Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), 89-114.
[103] Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, *Decolonising the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature* (Woodbridge: James Currey, 1986), 9.

trajectory, colonial translations of scriptural texts have also come under postcolonial scrutiny.[104]

Language, as Ngũgĩ states, 'is both a means of communication and a carrier of culture'.[105] Without wishing to conflate image and text (for they are not the same thing), it seems evident that visual 'language' or convention is also a communicator and a cultural carrier. The imposition of English-language literature on the young Ngũgĩ caused a cultural dislocation, as culturally-embedded Kenyan Gikuyu stories were superseded by those of English culture, and worse, his own culture was then accessed through the lens of English literature. Language is part of how we think, of how we interpret the world, and conceive of our own identities. Visual language is part of this too. If images are mental as well as physical, they are even more embedded in our way of seeing the world.[106] Therefore, the images we are exposed to, and the ways of seeing that we are taught, affect our interactions with the world around us. If studying missionaries' pictures seems like a frivolous pursuit, then it is this that demands that we take it seriously. Missionary influences on the written word, language, and the thought processes and power struggles that accompany them, are acknowledged, studied, criticised and deconstructed. I argue that the same must be done with missionary visual culture.

[104] See for example Lovemore Togarasei, 'The Shona Bible and the Politics of Bible Translation', and Gosnell L. Yorke 'Bible Translation in Africa: An Afrocentric Interrogation of the Task', in *Postcolonial Perspectives in African Biblical Interpretations*, ed. Musa W. Dube, Andrew M. Mbuvi, and Dora Mbuwayesango (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2012).
[105] Ngũgĩ, *Decolonising the Mind*, 13.
[106] Dyrness, *Reformed Theology*, 13, 91-92.

3. Missive images: the visual culture of the prospective missionary

This chapter and the next together consider the formative visual culture of prospective missionaries, and missionary supporters, which laid the foundations for their future image-use and supply in foreign-mission contexts. The importance of viewing the visual culture of evangelical Protestants in this broad sense comes both from the need to identify visual influences on missionaries themselves, and the fact that the home base became a significant source of the visual materials sent out to them.

In this approach, I follow David Morgan's missionary 'typology of ways of seeing', as set out in his 2005 *The Sacred Gaze*.[1] Morgan identifies 'six moments […] of cultural interaction' through which to examine the migration of images in missionary contexts. Three of these 'moments' are relevant to the present study. There are firstly 'missive' images, which are distributed and viewed domestically to mobilise missionary activities, and to shape understanding of the foreign Other. Secondly, Morgan identifies 'exported' images as those visual materials taken by, or sent out to, foreign missionaries to aid their evangelistic and educational tasks. Importantly, as Morgan's definition makes plain, it is not only physical images but also attitudes, represented materially or contained in the imagination, that constituted these exports. Lastly, 'imported' imagery, which is sent from missionaries to their home supporters, and particularly includes indigenous artefacts or their representations, completes the cycle of mission-directed image-migration.[2] Imported images became objects for Western museum spaces, and fodder for illustrated missionary publications, and became absorbed into the 'visual lexicon' of the missive, or originating, culture.[3] I would argue in addition that images of mission stations, converts, missionaries themselves, and the landscapes of missionary sites were returned as significant imported images, and some of these will be considered in Chapter 7.

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[1] Morgan, *Sacred Gaze*, 147-187.
[2] Morgan's other three moments are focused on indigenous response: appropriated, expropriated, and nationalized imagery; see *Sacred Gaze*, 151-171.
[3] Morgan, *Sacred Gaze*, 151.

It is, however, missive images that provide the subject for this chapter and the next: those pictures, images, and visual-cultural contexts that shaped the missionaries at home before ever they ventured abroad. An expanded conception of missive images is proposed, focusing not only on images directly engaged in missionary preparation, but on wider visual influences within which evangelical missionary consciousness developed, and imaginative frameworks that shaped understandings of home and foreign lands and impacted upon missionaries' later engagement on the mission field.

These three moments are both distinct and interlinked. The missive imagery of home inevitably informed choices on what should be exported for use in the mission field; those items imported would in turn form part of the substance of future missive images.

3.1 The humble missionary and the democratisation of art

The earliest British missionaries were, like the shoemaker William Carey, largely drawn from working and artisan classes, and were typically English nonconformists or Scottish dissenters. Their access to pictorial images was therefore limited by both wealth and theological stricture. The 1840s and 1850s, however, witnessed an increased democratisation of art, facilitated by the development of public art galleries and museums, alongside technological advances, especially in printing and photography.

The development of London's National Gallery from 1850 exemplifies this shift, participating in an increasing accessibility of public art galleries to a mass audience.[4] The Great Exhibition of 1851, held in the specially designed Crystal Palace in London, served to popularise the viewing of art and artefacts further, and led directly to the establishment of the South Kensington Museum (later the Victoria and Albert Museum), from the surplus funds remaining after the exhibition's close. The establishment of new public museums and galleries in provincial cities quickly followed. This opening up of art was achieved not only by the allowance of physical entry, but by a reconception of galleries as intellectually and aesthetically accessible, and desirable, to a wide demographic. However, access to art, image, and artefacts, along with control over what was displayed,

[4] Christopher Whitehead, *The Public Art Museum in Nineteenth Century Britain: The Development of the National Gallery* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 5, 59-61.

and how, remained largely in the hands of the elite. Intended as educational as well as aesthetic venues, public galleries often developed alongside free libraries and schools, with philanthropic reformers' views of what kind of art was culturally or spiritually edifying for the masses affecting the public presentation of art. Elsewhere, the art world, with its opinions on artistic quality and taste, continued to dictate gallery content. These paternalistic attempts to provide social and aesthetic education nonetheless resulted in the creation of popular destinations. Their educational aims additionally served to make them acceptable leisure-time venues for evangelicals concerned by 'frivolous' entertainments, though that acceptance was qualified by opposition to Sunday attendance.[5]

Innovative alternatives to the static display of artworks in gallery settings became abundantly available and immensely popular, including for religious themes. John Martin's (1789-1854) grand apocalyptic canvases, visually striking in their own right, had their effects enhanced by being displayed in spectacular ways. In the posthumous British tour of his *Last Judgment* triptych, between 1854 and 1861, the paintings were exhibited not only in galleries but also in music halls, and accompanied by flickering gas-light and sound effects.[6] Cited as a precursor to modern cinematic epics, Martin's displays were popularly rather than critically acclaimed.[7] By the end of the tour, the triptych is thought to have been seen by as many as eight million people, or a third of the population.[8] Critics, in contrast, were dismissive of his technical abilities and his working-class origins, and unimpressed by the innovative displays of his work.[9]

Similarly dismissed by the art elite, landscape and historical panoramas and dioramas (which had the addition of props, movement, music) won popularity amongst the middle and lower classes, for whom the spectacle and the vision of foreign lands rather than the artistry are likely to have been the primary appeal. Panoramas were viewed by many evangelical commentators as educational, and

[5] For further detail on Sabbatarianism and Sunday practices, see Chapter 5.
[6] Martin Myrone, 'TateShots: John Martin curatorial walkthrough', accessed 18 April 2017, http://www.tate.org.uk/context-comment/video/tateshots-john-martin-curatorial-walkthrough; Brian Lukacher, 'Nature Historicized: Constable, Turner, and Romantic Landscape Painting', in *Nineteenth Century Art: A Critical History*, ed. Stephen F. Eisenman (London: Thames and Hudson, 1996), 129.
[7] Christine Riding and Nigel Llewellyn, 'British Art and the Sublime', in *The Art of the Sublime*, ed. Nigel Llewellyn and Christine Riding (Tate Gallery, 2013), https://www.tate.org.uk/art/research-publications/the-sublime/christine-riding-and-nigel-llewellyn-british-art-and-the-sublime-r1109418.
[8] Myrone, 'John Martin'.
[9] Martin Myrone, introduction to *Sketches of My Life*, John Martin (London: Tate Publishing, 2011), vi-vii.

thus acceptable, entertainment. The appearance of language referencing the panoramic experience in missionary writings reinforces the extent to which this genre entered the evangelical, as well as the more general popular, consciousness. Indeed, accessing galleries and exhibitions was problematic for evangelical sensibilities not so much for content, but for its perceived competition with church attendance and sabbath observance.

3.2 Visual culture at home

3.2.1 Interior decoration and domestic art

As wealth and the middle classes burgeoned in the mid-nineteenth century, earlier evangelical admonishment of the domestic display of consumer goods as unholy diminished; interior decoration became sanctioned as a marker and developer of morality, as well as of good taste. The private sphere of the home within which this occurred is not an eternal, static reality, but is itself an idea that came to ascendance in Britain in the 1830s and 1840s. The world of work became increasingly distinct from domestic life as industrialisation moved the workplace out of the home, alongside which the idea of separate gendered realms developed, as home became the site of women's work and the haven of working men. A concurrent shift from understanding home decoration as the expression of status to that of personal identity reinforced the sense that the home itself was private and interior: a visualisation of the interiority of its residents.[10]

Victorian domestic interiors typically housed varied and eclectic items of visual and material culture, with three-dimensional, tactile media including ceramics becoming prominent domestic items. Low-cost Staffordshire figurines, of which biblical and religious figures were especially common, and sometimes 'aggressively Protestant', were popular in working-class homes.[11] Parian figures, modelled more on classical statuary, commanded higher prices and were aimed at the middle classes. Functional items from crockery to chamber pots, jars to inkwells, were produced with commemorative or decorative designs that

[10] Clive Edwards, *Turning Houses into Homes: A History of the Retailing and Consumption of Domestic Furnishings* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 144, 166.
[11] Asa Briggs, *Victorian Things,* (London: Penguin Books, 1990), 148; see also 'The Bible and Antiquity at Home,' Fitzwilliam Museum, accessed 8 July 2017, http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/gallery/bible-antiquity-nineteenth-century-culture/bible-and-antiquity-home-victorian-mantelpiece.

contributed to the abundance of visual materials available for domestic consumption.[12]

In addition, social and economic changes led to an increased availability and affordability of art as a consumer commodity.[13] Widely-available illustrated publications containing good quality art prints led to the late-nineteenth century practice of 'cut and mount', in which artists' plates were literally cut out and mounted as artworks in the home, in a more mainstream and religiously acceptable version of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries' separately printed bible illustrations, which were also used for domestic display. Richard Maxwell describes how Van Gogh cut and mounted many periodical illustrations whilst in London in the 1880s, for their intrinsic artistic value, and as inspiration for his own work.[14] The practice increased in popularity in the early years of the twentieth century, and fine engravings were '[f]reed of their moorings in dense columns of text or facing pages of writing', and thereby 'converted from illustrations into fine prints'.[15] In so 'freeing' them, however, interactions between image and text that participated in meaning-making were severed, potentially increasing interpretative openness, but also inviting images to be re-coded as decorative aesthetic objects.

In this way, by the turn of the twentieth century, fine art prints were being recommended as forms of domestic décor. Hubert Letts' *One Hundred Best Pictures* (1901) offered both specific recommendations and print reproductions 'that, if desired […] can be removed and framed, or placed in an album'.[16] In this provision, Letts sought to overturn the perception of fine art prints as 'expensive luxuries' unobtainable by most.[17] His selection of artworks was made on the basis of the pleasure derived, alongside artistic merit, and its aim explicitly to 'elevat[e] the taste of the public generally to an appreciation of what is most

[12] Briggs, *Victorian Things*, 147.
[13] Deborah Cohen, *Household Gods: the British and their possessions* (London: Yale University Press, 2006), 63-76.
[14] Richard Maxwell, 'The Destruction, Rebirth, and Apotheosis of the Victorian Illustrated Book', in *The Victorian Illustrated Book*, ed. Richard Maxwell (University of Virginia Press, 2002), 399-400.
[15] Simon Cooke, 'Periodicals of the mid-Victorian period: the physical properties of illustrated magazines', The Victorian Web, last modified 2 November 2014, http://www.victorianweb.org/periodicals/cooke.html.
[16] C. Hubert Letts (ed.), *The Hundred Best Pictures: a visit, at home, to the picture galleries of the world* (London: Letts, 1901), frontmatter.
[17] Letts, *Hundred Best*, introduction.

beautiful in art'.[18] Many religious subjects were included, from two of Raphael's *Madonnas*, to Hunt's *The Light of the World*, and Millet's *The Angelus*, though given the marketing of these prints as domestic commodities, it cannot be presumed that the display of one of the many religious images in a home was an indicator of particular piety, or the object of spiritual contemplation or devotion. Though for some, they could well have been, for others they were objects of good taste, and symbols of a generalised Christian sentiment. Half a century earlier, in 1853, the *Family Friend* magazine similarly advocated '[w]ell selected engravings on the wall' as domestic items all could aspire to, suggesting Letts' publication to be merely an affordable extension of a long-standing trend.[19]

In addition to explicitly religious works, Letts' *Hundred* included portraiture and landscape, both of which were prominent genres throughout the period of study, and which will recur in later discussions of missionary visual culture and imagination. A brief statement of their importance here will suffice to demonstrate their place in the evangelical home.

Portraiture has a long tradition within Protestantism, grounded, as Dyrness argues, in the Reformers' understanding of the human person as the embodiment of God's gifts of grace, which entailed that the person constituted 'the proper image of God'.[20] This was especially the case with likenesses of the Reformers themselves. The production of naturalistic portraits of these men not only honoured them in an earthly sense, but gave visual expression to their spiritual gifts, and the God from whom those gifts came.[21] Thus Dyrness proceeds to describe such portraits as 'allegories of virtue' designed to move the viewer 'to desire the godliness that is expressed in the[ir] faces'.

In the nineteenth century, portraits of religious leaders were popular in the home, appearing not only in print, but in pottery, statuary, and even fabric, with 'Stevengraph' woven silk portraits becoming common domestic items from the 1860s.[22] The continuing popularity of portraiture was bolstered by the

[18] Letts, *Hundred Best*, introduction.
[19] Quoted in Edwards, *Houses into Homes*, 161-162.
[20] Dyrness, *Reformed Theology,* 306.
[21] David Morgan, *The Forge of Vision: A Visual History of Modern Christianity* (Oaklands, CA: University of California Press, 2015), 54.
[22] Briggs, *Victorian Things,* 147-148.

development of photographic and artistic realism that held likeness to be a form of truth.[23] Facial features were therefore thought to reflect leaders' moral and spiritual elevation, and increased immediacy and attempts to capture personality grew within portraiture.[24] The Pre-Raphaelites were exemplars of this change. Hunt's 1858 *Portrait of Henry Wentworth Monk* and Frederick Sandys' *Charles Augustus Howell* (1882), for instance, capture the faces of their subjects in strikingly intimate detail. Just as intricate details of nature provided 'evidence of divinity at work within the landscape itself',[25] so the lines of the face evidenced the divine at work in humanity. In a similar way, G.F. Watts' 'hall of fame' portrait series of important national figures eschewed heroic portrayals, in favour of a starker honesty of representation, through the lines of which Watts sought to reproduce 'not only his [sic] face, but his character and nature'.[26]

Underlying this representational and conceptual shift, towards what might be termed the readable likeness, was the belief in physiognomic correlation between appearance and behaviour. The associated field of phrenology represents the extreme of such a view, in its association of physical developments in specific locations in brain and cranium with specific propensities or attributes. In consequence, phrenologists held that the relative observable proportions of a person's head could, if correctly interpreted, reveal truths about that person's character – from musical genius to violent criminality.[27] The idea promulgated by phrenologists that the physical shape of the head corresponded to the greater or lesser development of areas of the brain responsible for particular moral propensities and character traits impacts directly on the functional and representational understanding of the portrait. Counterpart to phrenology was physiognomy, which saw the reflection of the brain not upon the visible skull, but

[23] Joanna Woodall, 'Introduction: Facing the Subject', in *Portraiture: Facing the Subject*, ed. Joanna Woodall (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 6.
[24] Briggs, *Victorian Things,* 147-148.
[25] On Hunt and 'evidence of divinity at work within the landscape itself', see David Brown, 'Science and Religion in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Landscape Art', in *Reading Genesis after Darwin*, ed. Stephen C. Barton and David Wilkinson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 115-116.
[26] M.H. Spielman, 'The Works of Mr. George F. Watts, R.A., with a complete catalogue of his Pictures', Pall Mall Gazette, Extra Number, 22 (1886), 1-32, quoted in *G.F. Watts Portraits: Fame & Beauty in Victorian Society* Barbara Bryand (London: National Portrait Gallery, 2004), 34.
[27] See for example George Combe, 'Outlines of Phrenology', Cowen Tracts (1835), http://www.jstor.org/stable/60201311.

upon the whole body, though the face in particular was understood as an index of character.[28]

This indexical relation between appearance and person posited by phrenology and physiognomy gave a pseudo-scientific twist to the long-standing sense that a human likeness could communicate in some way with its viewer. Traditionally, this communication was understood as a more intimate and personal effect, and even strayed into the belief that portraits could exert some form of agency. This was particularly the case for images of loved ones: in the obsessive collection of lifelike pastels and miniatures from the early eighteenth century, Shearer West identifies a fetishistic function of portraits; Stephen Gores finds the use of portraits in marriage contracts to be talismanic.[29] In the nineteenth-century home, portraits of loved ones as well as those of the famous continued to be common (the former largely photographic by the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries), with both types occupying positions that exceeded mere decoration. Post-mortem photographs of family members, for example, were taken and displayed in a 'knowing pretense of presence' that honoured the life of the departed, and provided comfort for those who remained.[30]

In relation to Protestant portraits, David Morgan uses notably similar terminology to that applied by West and Gores to more personal likenesses when he argues that their function in representing not only the identity of the individual Reformer or theologian, but that of his distinct 'clan' of followers, was totemic.[31] The use of the terms 'talisman' and 'totem' by Gores and Morgan are indicative of the recurring sense that the proxy presence of a represented person through their portrait can somehow infuse the image with a magical quality. Their distinct choices of term also offer some nuance to this sense. A talisman is '[a]n object, typically an inscribed ring or stone, that is thought to have magic powers and to bring good luck,'[32] or 'an object believed to bring good luck or to keep its owner

[28] Cara A. Finnegan, 'Recognizing Lincoln: Image Vernaculars in Nineteenth-Century Visual Culture,' *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 8:1 (2005), 31-57, https://doi.org/10.1353/rap.2005.0037.
[29] Shearer West, *Portraiture* (Oxford: Oxford Universtiy Press, 2004), 59-60; Steven J. Gores, 'The Miniature as Reduction and Talisman in Fielding's *Amelia,' Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, 37:3 (1997), 573-593.
[30] John Harvey, *Photography and Spirit* (London: Reaktion Books, 2007), 56-56.
[31] Morgan, *Forge of Vision,* 54-55.
[32] 'Talisman', Oxford Dictionaries, accessed 5 May, 2017, https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/us/talisman.

safe from harm'.[33] The miniature of a loved-one, concealed in a locket worn over the heart, might fulfil such a definition;[34] the wearer may feel the presence of the person through it, and attendant comfort and assurance. A totem, meanwhile, is a 'natural object or animal that is believed by a particular society to have spiritual significance and that is adopted by it as an emblem',[35] or 'an object that is respected by a group of people, especially for religious reasons'.[36] The religious and emblematic connotations of the totem make it distinctly relevant in the Protestant context. The nineteenth century developed its own understanding of portraiture as totem-talisman, with representations being seen as vivid revelations of character that implied the facilitation of a spiritual connection of the viewer with the sitter that, if it did not bring good luck, provided a moral as well as a physical image. Described as 'ekphrastic' by Finnegan, Victorian portraits attempted to provide a visual representation of character, and thus to offer a means of navigating the gap between the verbal and the visual.[37] Through visual expression, truths about the represented person were thought to be conveyed, that might previously be expected to be communicated verbally or textually. The genre of the 'pen picture' (or pen portrait), which shall be returned to in Chapter 5, epitomises this idea in the opposite direction, by providing detailed and evocative textual (or in Mitchell's terminology, verbal) descriptions, often of people, in lieu of graphic images of them.

In contrast to the long association of Protestants and portraits, until the nineteenth century, landscape had been considered an inferior art form. It had typically appeared as backdrop to the human or mythological action that constituted the foreground of 'history' or narrative painting, or as the background to portraits of the wealthy to emphasise their landed possessions. In this, the landscape was functional and symbolic, the proprietorial positioning of a landowner within his geographical domain visually emphasising his material worth; it also indicated his ability to exert power over land, in the extent to which it was

[33] 'Talisman', Cambridge Dictionary, accessed 5 May, 2017, http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/talisman.
[34] Gores, 'The Miniature', 574.
[35] 'Totem', Oxford Dictionaries, accessed 5 May, 2017, https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/totem.
[36] 'Totem', Cambridge Dictionary, accessed 5 May, 2017, http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/totem.
[37] Finnegan, 'Recognizing Lincoln', 42; see also James A.W. Heffernan, *Museum of Words: The Poetics of Ekphrasis from Homer to Ashbery* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), http://csmt.uchicago.edu/glossary2004/ekphrasis.htm.

cultivated, built upon, or 'landscaped' in order to provide visual or active pleasure to its residents and visitors.

As an independent genre, well-established and popular by the 1840s, landscape continued to express similar themes in new ways. The landscape of Britain as a whole, away from the domains of the wealthy, was increasingly glorified. That this occurred alongside burgeoning nationalism was not coincidental: 'the notion that Nature was there to be subjugated coincided with increasing expansionist policies and colonialism, with the growing commodification of Nature, and the corresponding upsurge in demand for landscape art'.[38] This nationalist turn to landscape was also gendered, with professional artists, who were mostly men, engaged through their art in 'mastering', 'conquering,' or making it 'intelligible', as their colonising compatriots were doing with the physical landscape.[39]

Yet sentimental landscapes of the rural English idyll contributed to the construction of national identity too. As increasing urbanisation and industrialisation dislocated more and more people from the land, nostalgia for the countryside of a mythical past age of peace, calm, and plenty grew. John Constable's (1776-1837) Romantic landscapes were naturalistic in style and recognisably depicted places in his native Suffolk, but nevertheless idealised rural scenes by making no allusion to the poverty and riots taking place there at the time he was painting. Focusing on neatness, purity, and tranquil labour, the realities of rural poverty were redrawn by Constable as visions of the pastoral ideal, and of a comforting and comfortable Britishness.

Not only Constable, but a plethora of artists produced picturesque and sentimental scenes, and continued to do so even well into the late decades of the nineteenth century, when Romanticism no longer held sway. Myles Birkett Foster's (1825-1899) pretty countryside scenes with 'picturesque cottages, happy villagers and cheerful children' were particularly popular from the 1860s.[40] Helen

[38] Steven Adams and Anna Gruetzner Robins, *Gendering Landscape Art,* Barber Institute's critical perspectives in art history series (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 3.
[39] Adams and Robins, *Gendering Landscape Art*, 3-4.
[40] Christopher Wood, *Victorian Painters 2: Historical Survey and Plates*, Dictionary of British Art Volume IV (Woodbridge: Antique Collectors' Club, 1995), 79.

Allingham's (1848-1926) watercolours represented rural scenes in which the country cottages were, as Anne Helmreich has argued, motifs of national identity, symbolic of old, feudal hierarchy, and perceived as stable in the midst of political and economic change in the metropolis.[41] Also intimately linked with morality and the right ordering of domesticity, presided over by a mother, the cottage motif was a gendered and idealised conception of home carried physically and imaginatively to foreign climes.[42] The 'happy', 'cheerful' figures in Birket Foster's and Allingham's scenes were, in this context, not so much people as objects integral to the landscape itself.

Portraying people as part of the landscape served to diminish the threat poverty posed to the ideal of the 'green and pleasant land', and to the social order within which it was understood. In consequence, the intentional absence of human figures could act as a denial or neutralisation of that threat. So Humphrey Repton applied picturesque principles to landscape design, and in so doing removed by artifice evidences of the social and economic activities of lower classes. This can be seen starkly in the revision of his *View from my Own Cottage, in Essex* in 1816 to erase the figures and symbols of the presence of the local poor. For other artists, the insertion of more serious themes of poverty into pastoral settings served to emphasise the problems of rural privation: Hubert von Herkomer's late-nineteenth-century depiction of the harsh realities of rural poverty in his *Hard Times* (1885) served as a protest against the conditions of impoverished labourers.[43]

A threat more acceptable for depiction in landscape painting was that of nature itself. While many artists idealised rural civilisation, cultivated and tamed, others emphasised the otherness of nature. The eighteenth-century aesthetic of the sublime, focused on the grand, the monumental, and the vital and terrifying powers of nature, continued to exert its force into the mid-nineteenth-century. Defined as an experience of the infinite consisting of terror, obscurity, magnificence, light and sound, the sublime was expressed in paintings through darkness, desolation, and isolation, often reinforced by large-scale canvases. So

[41] Anne Helmreich, 'The Marketing of Helen Allingham: the English Cottage and National Identity', in *Gendering Landscape Art*, ed. Steven Adams and Anna Greutzner Robins (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 56.
[42] Helmreich, 'Helen Allingham', 56.
[43] Wood, *Victorian Painters 2*, 68, 84.

J.M.W. Turner's (1775-1851) Romantic evocations of emotion turned in his later works towards sublime, visionary landscapes, with human figures dwarfed and subsumed by the elemental 'fury of God's creation', while John Martin's vast apocalyptic scenes drew out the theatrical possibilities of the genre. Sublime landscapes often drew on natural phenomena, from Turner's stormy seas, to the Arctic wastes of David Caspar Friedrich's *The Sea of Ice* (1823-4) and Alpine terror of Philip James De Loutherbourg's *An Avalanche in the Alps* (1803), but in pre-Darwinian thought, religious as well as scientific and emotional concerns were thereby reflected. Ruskin most clearly expounded a theological conception of landscape, based upon the understanding that nature evidenced, or witnessed to, God's glory and that, as such, it was the artist's religious responsibility to represent it truthfully.[44]

In the mid-nineteenth century, the grandeur and theatre of the biblical sublime were overtaken by an impulse towards 'authenticity', and attention to nature's details, influenced not least by Ruskin himself. Turner, whom Ruskin defended and lauded as the pre-eminent depicter of nature, had, in addition to his evocative and ethereal land- and seascapes, produced numerous biblical landscapes, replete with naturalistic detail. That detail, however, had been derived from sources removed from the land they depicted: contemporary travellers' sketches, earlier conventions of art, and his own imagination. In contrast, William Holman Hunt (1827-1910) travelled to the Holy Land to look for 'authentic' settings. One of the founders of the influential Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood (PRB) that 'combined detailed observation of nature with stylistic archaism derived from early art',[45] Hunt was concerned with accurate, on the spot observation of landscapes, as was his contemporary and fellow traveller, Thomas Seddon (1821-1856). In the context of the prevailing Western myth of Middle Eastern cultural stasis, such landscapes, and their photographic counterparts produced in the same period, were not merely artistic developments; in light of the challenges to literal biblical interpretation presented by German Higher Criticism at this time, they were insights into scripture itself.

[44] Pattison, *Art, Modernity and Faith*, 54; Hilary Fraser, 'Truth to Nature: science, religion, and the Pre-Raphaelites', in *The Critical Spirit and the Will to Believe*, ed. D. Jasper and T.R. Wright (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1989), 53.

[45] Michaela Giebelhausen, *Painting the Bible: Representation and Belief in Mid-Victorian Britain* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 1.

Landscapes, portraits, and religious pictures in varied visual media were at the heart of the domestic visual culture of prospective missionaries. Neither economic status, aside from the very poorest, nor evangelical piety, excluded the possibility of such imagery featuring within the home. It was not only framed on its walls, but evident on its mantelpieces and tables, and on the very objects of daily life.

3.2.2 Non-western art

Among these eclectic items in the Victorian home were many objects and designs from distant countries. As Nicola Humble notes, '[l]arge numbers of the objects thronging the Victorian interior were of foreign origin: Indian screens, Japanese fans, oriental china, souvenirs from all over Europe and the empire'.[46] These were an ambiguous sign, Humble goes on to suggest, of both imperial acquisition, and of the desire – especially amongst women responsible for domestic decoration – to bring the Other into the confines of the domestic space: 'an icon of imaginative escape for women'.[47]

Unlike the exotic but 'civilised' decoration of the East, African and South Pacific artefacts, perhaps deemed too 'other', were not typically found in the nineteenth-century British home. Items exported to Britain by missionaries, explorers, traders, and soldiers were not understood as art objects, and were thus displayed in separate spaces, as 'trophies' commemorating missionary achievements and 'curios' suggestive of encounters with the unfamiliar.[48] So ceremonial and religious items from across these regions were removed from their cultural and aesthetic contexts of production and use, as for instance the idols of chief Pomare, disposed of on his conversion to Christianity. Once displayed in museums, these contexts, and so the frameworks within which the objects themselves could be understood, were disrupted.[49]

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[46] Nicola Humble, 'Domestic Arts', in *The Cambridge Companion to Victorian Culture*, ed. Francis O'Gorman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 229.
[47] Humble, 'Domestic Arts', 229.
[48] Karen Jacobs and Chris Wingfield, Introduction to *Trophies, Relics, and Curios? Missionary Heritage from Africa and the Pacific*, ed. Karen Jacobs, Chantel Knowles and Chris Wingfield (Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2015), 10-11.
[49] David Morgan, 'Thing', *Material Religion* 7:1 (2011), 144-145, doi:10.2752/175183411X12968355482411; ironically, non-iconic African societies were not celebrated, but ambiguously placed within European social taxonomies; without idols, there was nothing physical to overthrow in pursuit of Christianisation, and nor were there obvious trophies that could be shipped triumphantly home.

At the turn of the twentieth century, however, European artists including Picasso and Kandinsky adopted African 'primitive' aesthetics as explicit influences on their work, suggesting a new engagement with and Western acknowledgement of African art. Nevertheless, as Ott cautions, both this new aesthetic approach and the older ethnographic one failed to do justice to it. By emphasising only aesthetic value, as Picasso did, invaluable context and meaning is lost; a focus on art as 'anthropological source material', on the other hand, overlooks beauty and artistry.[50] Ott's concerns were in fact pre-empted only shortly after the period of the present study. In his 1919 *Negro Art,* Latvian artist Vladimir Markov responded to the lack of serious scholarly work on the aesthetics of African sculpture; what studies existed were ethnographic rather than aesthetic.[51] Harshly critical of the still-prevalent view that Africa had 'no past' and was 'totally devoid of aesthetical concerns',[52] Markov explored and defended the beauty of its art whilst also exploring the ways in which that art was both 'created as part of a religious cult and […] closely connected with everyday life'.[53] Consequently, he recognised the destructive effects of colonial, Christian, and Islamic powers exerting influence on African image-making, and did not hold back on his criticism of missionaries:

> Yet another influence on the art also needs mentioning and that is the most recent, the European. This could, in the first place, be called the missionary influence. How absolutely terrible that one religion destroys the cults, and the arts connected with it, of another religion, and that this practice continues even in the twentieth century. How vexing that due to some fanatical ideas, people become blind and lose the sense of beauty.[54]

Through ideological and aesthetic change, as well as through the physical removal of art-objects, Christian mission was implicated in their misinterpretation and suppression.

For the British Victorian public, 'African art' was not a recognisable aesthetic category, but visual and material objects from the continent were nevertheless accessible through public museums, collections, and exhibitions,

[50] Ott, *African Theology,* 122.
[51] Though anthropological contextualisation was limited by a lack of genuine cultural understanding on the part of Western scholars; see Claudia Hopkins, 'Editorial: The Reception of African Art,' *Art in Translation* 5:4 (2013), 425, http://dx.doi.org/10.2752/175613113X13784777319762.
[52] Vladimir Markov (Voldemārs Matvejas) and Jeremy Howard, 'Negro Art (1919)', *Art in Translation* 1:1 (2009), 82, http://dx.doi.org/10.2752/175613109787307663.
[53] Markov, *Negro Art*, 102.
[54] Markov, *Negro Art,* 102.

falsely leading viewers to believe they thereby caught a glimpse of an 'authentic Africa' that precluded genuine art-making. Similar ideology of categorisation and display is evident in the Western treatment of African bodies. The exhibiting of Khoi-San woman Saartjie Baartman (1789-ca.1815) as the 'Hottentot Venus' epitomises objectifying and degrading European attitudes and behaviours. Baartman was paraded as a live exhibit representative of a racial (and hyper-sexualised) 'type', and even after death continued to be displayed, becoming an object in a Paris museum.[55] Such freak-show style displays were succeeded by ethnographic stage shows, and throughout the period, photographs and engravings objectifying African bodies were widespread in the West. Even the incorporation of African aesthetics into modern art in the first decade of the twentieth century, mediated and appropriated by Western artists, was little better in taking seriously the rich and diverse visuality of Africa, largely because it insisted on decontextualizing it and thus removing the living context of its form, reducing it to Western aesthetic categories.[56]

3.2.3 Illustrated Bibles

Far more prevalent, accessible, and desirable than exotica for the Victorian evangelical was illustrated scripture. While the working classes were most often in possession of Bibles produced 'without comment or addition' via the cheap, interdenominational distribution of the British and Foreign Bible Society (BFBS), the middle classes would have been in the market for grander volumes with some level of illustration. Indeed, the possession of a fine edition of the Bible functioned as a marker of wealth and middle-class status, as well as of devotion. In the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, illustrated Bibles typically contained a small number of reproductions of biblical paintings by Old Masters such as Da Vinci, Raphael, and Rubens, from which specially commissioned illustrations in Charles Knight's 1836-38 *Pictorial Bible* marked a departure.[57] In a move in line with the increasing focus on realism as a communicator of truth, many of Knight's images were ethnographic, depicting items of everyday Middle Eastern life thought to provide insight into biblical narratives, though these appeared alongside traditional art reproductions.

[55] Janes, *Victorian Reformation*, 139.
[56] Ott, *African Theology*, 122.
[57] Giebelhausen, *Painting the Bible*, 135.

From the 1840s, contemporary art illustration of Scripture continued to increase in popularity. John Kitto's 1846-7 *Scripture Engravings, Historical and Landscape* presented a combination of Renaissance and contemporary works, typically landscapes such as Charles Bentley's *Mount of Olives*. The third edition of Knight's *Pictorial Bible* went further, and replaced the Old Masters entirely with new works, particularly influenced by the German Nazarene School. Others followed suit, notably Methodist publisher John Cassell in his *Illustrated Family Bible* (1859-63), and his later reproduction of Gustave Doré's illustrations in Bible, and later pictorial gallery, formats. Cassell's editions were hugely successful, and accessible to most sections of society through penny instalments of the *Family Bible* and part editions of Doré's illustrations.[58] In their weekly or monthly portions, these Bibles echo the accessibility and marketability of the periodical, making biblical art available in working- as well as middle-class, homes.[59]

A related practice was that of 'extra-illustration', which did not so much remove the image-text connection as exchange it. Illustrations were cut from a publication, as they were in cut and mount, but then pasted into another material text. The most extensive example of this practice is found in a Kitto Bible now held in the Huntingdon Museum in California. Created by a London bookbinder, James Gibbs, this edition has thousands of images taken from other sources, pasted into it. Cut and mount and extra-illustration valued periodicals for their pictorial images, and thereby claimed independent value for illustrations beyond the confines of their original textual context, both losing and gaining elements of meaning in the process.

The application of artists to illustrated scriptural volumes continued into the twentieth century, with, for instance, William Hole's 1906 *The Life of Jesus of Nazareth* proving popular. Not all popular printed spiritual works employed traditional scriptural illustration, however. Charles Spurgeon's *Book without Words,* popularised by American evangelist Dwight L. Moody, consisting of plates of colour denoting distinct stages of the human condition in spiritual relation to God: black (sin), red (sacrifice of the cross), and white (salvation) constituted 'a

[58] Gordon Campbell, *Bible: The Story of the King James Version, 1611-2011* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 186.
[59] S.L. Greenslade, *The Cambridge History of the Bible: Volume 3, The West from the Reformation to the Present Day* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 469.

visual catechism of the journey of the soul from sinfulness to salvation'.[60] This instructive tool contained blocks of colour without accompanying text, but as such was reliant on introductory text, or oral explanation by evangelical preachers promoting the work.

Alongside illustrated Bibles in the home, periodical literature was, as already alluded to, an important element of domestic visual culture. Periodicals were available in diverse forms and on varied subjects. For evangelical reader-viewers, many general religious titles were available, but also a large number of specific missionary papers.[61] It is to this genre that the next section turns.

3.2.4 Missionary periodicals

The Victorian appetite for glimpses of the strange world beyond Western borders could, for evangelical Protestants, be fed through consumption of missionary periodicals. International leisure travel was then the preserve of the wealthy elite; missionary postings were one way in which the middle and lower classes could travel abroad, and share their experiences. Published missionary papers and reports emerged with the modern missionary societies in the 1790s, and thus pre-date general religious or Sunday periodicals, but as missionary activity increased exponentially from the beginning of the nineteenth century through to its close, the mass-communication potential of the periodical made this an attractive medium for communicating missionary activity, and touting for support. The variety of missionary periodicals available throughout the nineteenth and into the twentieth century reflects the range of missionary organisations in operation, and the audiences to which they sought to appeal. The sheer volume of the literature was emphasised by the recent Missionaries Periodicals Database Project, which found over 600 individual titles published between the 1700s and the 1960s.[62]

Although the number of missionary periodicals produced across an extensive time period attests to the material prevalence of the genre, Terri

[60] Dominic Janes, 'The Wordless Book: The Visual and Material Culture of Evangelism in Victorian Britain, Material Religion, 12:1 (2016), 28, doi:10.1080/17432200.2015.1120085.
[61] John Harvey uses the term 'reader/viewer' in his *The Bible as Visual Culture: When Text Becomes Image*, The Bible in the Modern World 57 (Sheffield: Phoenix Press, 2013), introduced on page 6; I use the hyphenated 'reader-viewer' to strengthen the sense of the simultaneity and mutuality of experiences of text and image, which the virgule's implication of presenting alternatives may risk undermining.
[62] Barringer, 'Beyond alpine snows', 170.

Barringer points out that publication did not ensure readership. Many titles were short-lived, and even larger missionary society titles with relatively large circulations could be met with a lack of interest, with complaints of 'heaps of magazines lying unread at the back of church or in the minister's study' not uncommon.[63] In the limits of the current study, the next chapter will be devoted to a general-interest religious periodical, *The Sunday at Home*, which enjoyed a more established and long-lasting circulation than many missionary titles. This paper also included within it images of mission activity and encountered peoples similar to, if not reproduced from, missionary papers themselves, thus enabling a more holistic view of religious periodical images that includes missionary content.

Nevertheless, missionary titles remain important as examples of the self-presentation of missionaries, and as part of wider visual and textual expression of foreign people and places, and their relation to British moral, social, and religious identities. Furthermore, as Barringer herself highlights, the 'iconography of missionary periodicals' remains a fruitful subject of future research, and warrants brief comment here.[64] Missionary periodicals form an obvious component of Morgan's 'missive' imagery, overtly 'used to mobilize and instruct domestic efforts to undertake mission'.[65] To a large extent, their role in this effort was to generate financial support. The missionary movement in the nineteenth century became vast, and costly; societies constantly needed to raise funds for their activities. The content had therefore to be attractive and instructive, emphasising both the value of missionary work and the inability of that work to continue within voluntary support. To a lesser extent, societies might hope their periodicals could in time lead to recruitment of new missionaries. The images utilised by missionary publications to achieve these ends promoted a view of the foreign characterised by exoticism and barbarism, which countered their presentation of the civilised, peaceful, and learned missionary engaged in humanitarian as well as spiritual salvation.[66] By making these dichotomised mission fields present in British homes, connections and familiarity were fostered that were calculated to generate a desire to offer support.

[63] Barringer, 'Mrs Jellyby', 52.
[64] Barringer, 'Mrs Jellyby', 51.
[65] Morgan, *Sacred Gaze,* 151.
[66] Barringer, 'Mrs Jellyby', 51.

Missionary society publishers also targeted children as a discrete audience, recognised as financial supporters in their own right as well as potential future missionaries, and advocates of the missionary cause. The same dichotomised views of 'savage' and 'civilised' found in adult titles were used to construct and reinforce moral and domestic norms of childhood. Mary Ellis Gibson argues that through the presentation of both middle-class British and 'orientalised exotic' children in such periodicals as the LMS's *Juvenile Missionary Magazine* or the BMS's *Juvenile Missionary Herald*, 'a normative discourse of domesticity' was created, 'constituted against the limit of the foreign.'[67] At the same time, through exposure to images of the foreign in the context of missionary discourse, children developed a sense of their identity as imperial citizens founded on narratives of heroic endeavour in the face of violent external forces; empire itself was thus conceived as a noble and beneficent force, ignoring its own methods of beaurocratic and military violence.[68] Many of these themes will be returned to in 4.3 below.

3.3 Conclusion

Visual culture during the Victorian and Edwardian periods was rich and varied. Importantly, given the relatively low social background of many missionaries, access to art, and the ability to participate in wider visual culture, was increasingly democratised during this period. In public spaces, art and visual images in many media and viewing formats were available, landscape and portraiture occupying places of particular importance within evangelicalism, reinforcing and forming senses of national and imperial identity, moral character, and personal faith. Meanwhile, the arts of the foreign Other occupied marginal spaces that, through their very Otherness, not so much challenged Protestant British identity, as reinforced it. Similarly, missionary periodical illustrations etched the lines of imperial subjectivity on child reader-viewers, and continued to promote a discourse based on the binaries of self/other, home/foreign, civilised/savage and Christian/heathen in their adult titles.

[67] Mary Ellis Gibson, 'Perils of Reading: Children's Missionary Magazines and the Making of Victorian Imperialist Subjectivity', in *Time of Beauty, Time of Fear: The Romantic Legacy in the Literature of Childhood*, ed. James Holt McGavran (University of Iowa Press, 2012), 107.
[68] Gibson, 'Perils of Reading', 119-122.

4. Seeing through *The Sunday at Home*

Periodicals were a key form of mass communication for interest groups across Victorian society, as we saw in the case of missionary titles in the previous chapter. Improving literacy among the working classes, advances in printing technology, a reduction in newspaper Stamp Duty in 1836, the establishment in 1840 of the penny post, and the burgeoning railway network combined to enable the cheap and widespread production and distribution of publications, and a widening audience of readers.[1] In this chapter, a detailed examination will be made of one periodical, *The Sunday at Home*, which was a prominent example of the Sunday periodical genre aimed at religious families for domestic reading. Family publications such as *The Sunday at Home* were a part of evangelical home-life for adults and, as Stuart Hannabuss states, 'there seems little doubt that many children read them, even if they didn't want to do so', whether through being read to as in 'Good news from a far country' (figure 2), or being presented with little Sabbath alternative.[2]

4.1 Religious periodicals in contemporary scholarship

In addition to Mary Ellis Gibson's work on children's missionary periodicals, Hannabuss has contributed useful research focused on non-missionary religious titles aimed at children, emphasising the power of mass-market periodicals to inculcate moral values in young readers. Yet he also highlights the power of the readers themselves to influence content, for instance in the controversial inclusion of fiction, even by writers known to be out of kilter with mainstream evangelical thinking such as Anthony Trollope and the broad church priest Charles Kingsley.[3]

Caley Ehnes' 2012 article on 'the Place of Poetry in *Good Words*' looks in detail at the devotional role of poetry in one religious title for an adult readership.

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[1] Gibson, 'Perils of reading', 108; L. Fletcher, 'The development of periodicals addressed to teachers in Britain before 1870', *Journal of Educational Administration and History* 2:2 (1970), 11-12.

[2] C. Stuart Hannabuss 'Nineteenth-century Religious Periodicals for Children,' *British Journal of Religious Education*, 6:1 (1983), 22.

[3] Hannabus, 'Periodicals for Children'; Norman Macleod, editor of *Good Words,* is said to have been criticised for the inclusion of works by Kingsley and Trollope, which were nevertheless popular with his readership. Macleod did however decline some works deemed overly secular for inclusion in *Good Words;* see Mark W. Turner, *Trollope and the Magazines: Gendered Issues in Mid-Victorian Britain* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000), 48-91.

She finds significance not only in the poetic content, but in the visual-textual format, through which Scottish Presbyterian publisher Alexander Strahan, and editor Norman Macleod, constructed a distinctive 'brand', and that dictated both the method of reading and the meaning to be derived from it.[4] Ehnes, Hannabuss, and Gibson all focus on literary and textual features, as does much current periodical research, which is dominated by scholars of literature. Though Ehnes hints at the concurrent materiality of periodicals by analysing 'visual composition', a short article from Rosemary Scott in 1992 entitled 'The Sunday Periodical: "The Sunday at Home"'[5] extends this through consideration of the totality of a single title in terms of publication, physical format, circulation and reception. It does, however, fall short of drawing conclusions on the impact of the moral and religious content it describes.

Research into art and religion in the periodical press has received similarly unbalanced attention. While Ehnes does usefully consider poetry and its illustration together, this is a rare example of the imagery of religion being studied from within the internal structure of religious publications. Simon Cooke's 2014 article on the physical properties of periodicals addresses periodical illustrations more generally, including some within religious titles, albeit in a limited manner.[6] Much of the focus on religious imagery in periodicals, however, is centred on external perspectives found in secular titles, such as the satirical cartoons of *Punch*, with its penchant for satirising the clergy and religion,[7] though some work has also been done from an art-historical perspective, particularly focusing on the illustrative work of the Pre-Raphaelites and their successors in the Idyllic School.[8]

[4] Caley Ehnes, 'Religion, Readership and the Periodical Press: The Place of Poetry in Good Words' *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 45:4 (2012), 466-487.
[5] Rosemary Scott, 'The Sunday Periodical: "Sunday at Home"' *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 25:4 (1992) 158-162.
[6] Simon Cooke, 'Periodicals of the mid-Victorian period: the physical properties of illustrated magazines', Victorian Web, last modified 2 November 2014, http://www.victorianweb.org/periodicals/cooke.html.
[7] See for example Dominic Janes, 'The Role of Visual Appearance in Punch's Early Victorian Satires on Religion', *Victorian Periodicals Review* 47: 1 (2014), 66-86; Jamie Horrocks, 'Asses and Aesthetes: Ritualism and Aestheticism in Victorian Periodical Illustration', *Victorian Periodicals Review* 46:1 (2013), 1-36.
[8] See for example Paul Goldman, *Victorian Illustration: The Pre-Raphaelites, the Idyllic School and the High Victorians*, revised edition (Lund Humphries, 2004); Gregory R. Suriano, *The Pre-Raphaelite illustrators: the published graphic art of the English Pre-Raphaelites and their associates; with critical biographical essays and illustrated catalogues of the artists' engraved works* (London: British Library, 2000).

Some significant works on religious periodical imagery, relevant to the perspective of the current study, originate outside the UK. In his ongoing explorations of the practice and theory associated with religious imagery, David Morgan's extensive research on Protestant visual culture in the USA draws on periodical illustrations, particularly from the American Tract Society (ATS), but also including *The Sunday at Home*, which was circulated across the Atlantic. His 1999 *Protestants and Pictures* argues that images from the ATS formed 'a single iconographical system […] that circulated a distinct ideology about Protestantism and the new American republic', which formed identity through the intersections between the fraught male borderlands of conquest and otherness, and the feminine domestic centre.[9] In *The Sacred Gaze,* Morgan reasserts that illustrations in Protestant publications functioned as propaganda to influence and instruct attitudes and behaviours, and illustrates this in detail in relation to the construction of gendered identities.[10] While in Britain, the borders and frontiers were (with the exception of Ireland) far removed from the centre, and ideological constructions were not bound up with the formation of a new national identity, the associations of Protestant imagery with national consciousness, and the moral and social didacticism of illustrated periodicals, remain pertinent to the British Victorian context. Anthropologist Marianne Gullestad has conducted detailed research on the visual imagery contained within the periodicals of the Norwegian Missionary Society, with an analysis of the pictorial frontispiece.[11] The current convergence of art-historical and religious study in the field of periodical literature in general, and periodical illustration in particularly, has the potential to yield further valuable insight into Victorian religion, imperial consciousness, and missionary endeavour.

4.2 *The Sunday at Home*

The Sunday at Home, published by the Religious Tract Society, had a high circulation and an impressive longevity, running from 1854 to 1940. Published weekly for 1d., it was an affordable illustrated paper, and one of several aimed at a domestic family audience. Similar titles included Strahan's *The Sunday Magazine,* established in 1864, *The Day of Rest* (1872-1882) edited by Strahan and

[9] Morgan, *Protestants and Pictures*, 75.
[10] Morgan, *Sacred Gaze,* 68-71, 191-218.
[11] Marianne Gullestad, *Picturing Pity: Pitfalls and Pleasures in Cross-cultural Communication. Image and Word in a North Cameroon Mission* (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2007).

published by London publisher Henry S. King, and temperance campaigner John Cassell's *The Quiver* (1861-1926), subtitled 'an illustrated magazine for Sunday and general reading'.

The production of more expensive monthly and annual bound volumes of *The Sunday at Home* also appealed to readers of greater means, allowing the title, by its format as well as its content, to span across social classes.[12] As Simon Cooke notes, its physical properties also contributed to its place as a particularly domestic periodical. While many titles were produced in pocket-sized formats to be read out of the home, for example by commuting men, *The Sunday at Home* was substantially larger, so its use was in practice confined to the home.[13] This feature was further emphasised by an increase in paper size from 1862.

The Sunday at Home was broadly well-regarded. A review from the *Literary Churchman* in 1865 praised the publication as being one of 'the best things of the kind'.[14] In the 1889 RTS catalogue, which advertises a vast array of titles, a review from the *Medical Press* is shown stating that

> The Sunday at Home is made for Sunday reading, but there is, nevertheless, nothing vapid, goody-goody or childish about it, but rather writing and story-telling of unquestionable merit, obviously done by skilled hands, and put together by a competent and experienced editor'.[15]

Its near century-long run suggests a readership in agreement, though substantial profit was not required from its sales due to the charitable status of the RTS, and its willingness to do no more than break even.[16]

As with its rivals, *The Sunday of Home* was given visual appeal, even in its weekly form, through the inclusion of illustrations. In the 1850s, weekly extracts typically contained three illustrations, dominated by a large front page picture illustrating the serialised moral tale with which each edition began. These would have acted not only as illustrations of the text, but as visual advertisements in a competitive market where potential readers browsing the traders' shelves would need to be wooed. As well as the smaller images that punctuated the internal

[12] Scott, 'Sunday at Home', 160.
[13] Cooke, 'Physical properties'.
[14] Scott, 'Sunday at Home', 162.
[15] Religious Tract Society, *The Religious Tract Society Catalogue - 1889* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1889), http://www.gutenberg.org/files/40118/40118-h/40118-h.htm.
[16] Scott, 'Sunday at Home', 161.

text, decorative borders appear, for instance over the headings of regular slots including 'The Pulpit in the Family', and the 'Pages for the Young'. The pages aimed at children have no other illustration, but are filled with a combination of moral tales, poems, and biblical quizzes, a pattern echoed in *The Quiver*.

In 1862 significant changes were introduced. As well as the increase in paper size, the number and size of illustrations also increased throughout (though 'the young' still had only textual input). Colour illustrations were also included for the first time, with the annual volume being prefaced by a full page colour plate of Westminster Abbey. It was at this time that the market was becoming increasingly competitive, with high quality illustrators in much demand, and the lavish *Cornhill, Once a Week,* and *Good Words* at the forefront of publishers' attempts to vie for readers. By 1880, as well as *The Sunday at Home's* colour frontispiece, the number of colour plates warranted a separate title page listing 'Illustrations coloured or on toned paper', of which there are twelve, and an index of engravings exceeding 200 entries (though the 'pages for the young' were not yet granted a picture of their own). Another change over the earlier volumes was the attribution of artworks, again reflecting the growing importance of quality engravings, and the attempt to capitalise on famous names in art to attract readers.[17] This also accorded with wider trends that saw a shift from anonymous, pseudo-objective textual works in earlier publications, to the authorial attribution of content.

These technical and stylistic developments between the 1850s and 1880s are revealing of developments in printing techniques, but also indicate that the publishers of *The Sunday at Home* were conscious of the need to attract and retain a large readership by utilising those technologies. *The Sunday at Home*'s presentation, with its attractive use of colour and of artists' prints, and content including narrative and exotic themes, was responding over time to the demands of taste amongst its readers. As well as reflecting public taste and opinion, the paper would also have contributed to their shaping, for example through the specifics of imagery and description of foreign lands and practices, through which moral and religious judgement was passed. Having seen that *The Sunday at Home*

[17] Attribution became more common from the late 1860s; see Scott, 'Sunday at Home', 161.

readers were exposed to illustrations and art prints of increasing size and quantity, it is to this question of content that I now turn.

In reviewing image content, I have found it helpful to group illustrations into broad categories: narrative, didactic, those relating to sacred spaces, and biblical. These are neither mutually exclusive nor exhaustive, but do give an indication of the types of illustration to be found within this title. Commonalities of style and message emerge from this varied pictorial material, enabling some conclusions to be drawn as to the effects of these images on readers' constructions of normativity and 'otherness', and thus their missive influence.

4.2.1 Narrative

Narrative illustration appeared prominently on the front page of each weekly issue, accompanying a serialised story intended by its visual appeal, and its textual seriality, to draw in reader-viewers. The particular nature of these, and additional narrative illustrations within the volumes, is the first category to be explored, with particular attention paid to distinguishing it from the didactic images to which the subsequent section will turn.

There is a distinctive relationship between image and text in an illustrated narrative, which Nodelman describes as a 'paradoxical amplification and limitation' of each medium of communication by the other.[18] An illustration elaborates and interprets text, drawing attention to, exaggerating, or even adding some elements, while text conversely provides information necessary for the decoding of the image; in these ways meaning is mutually amplified. At the same time, meaning is limited by the depiction of a particular narrative moment in a particular visual way that excludes other moments and alternative interpretations of the text, while the text itself restricts the interpretative freedom that can be exercised by the reader-viewer in contemplation of the image.[19] Image and text are thus intertwined within a nexus of signification that, in Dövers' words, does not simply 'depict' or mirror in image what is present in words, but 'pictures' in

[18] Perry Nodelman, *Words about Pictures: The Narrative Art of Children's Picture Books* (Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, 1988), viii.

[19] Processes of elaboration and interpretation in book illustration, that may also exaggerate, hide, or add details, is one of multiple functions of illustration discussed in David Kirsch 'Why illustrations aid understanding', Paper presented at the International Workshop on Dynamic Visualizations and Learning, Tubungen, Germany (2002), 2.

creative ways that give new interpretative meaning to the text.[20] The balance of significance accorded to text and illustration within this nexus was not static in Victorian periodicals, but shifted, as Gerard Curtis argues, from a parity at the height of the illustrators' fame in the mid-nineteenth century that saw authors and illustrators as partners in the creative process, to an ascendancy of text in the late-century.[21]

Narrative tales in *The Sunday at Home* were most commonly fictionalised accounts of historic events which thereby circumvented evangelical censure of secular fiction, especially in earlier decades. In the 1850s and 1860s, religious themes were often pictured as adventurous through their illustrations. In 1862, for instance, 'From Dawn to Dark in Italy: A Tale of the Reformation in the Sixteenth Century' occupied the front page from January to May and provided a vehicle for images of heroic, persecuted Christians, adventure, peril and imprisonment. Later decades saw the appearance of more domestic scenes, though some, such as the 1884 serial 'Number Three, Winifred Place', still gave scope for visual drama, as Figure 2 of a rescue from a burning building shows. Such images appealed to readers in much the same way as the sensationalist illustrations characteristic of the low-end penny dreadful, though many evangelical readers may have been horrified at the suggestion. Nonetheless, though the tales they accompanied may have been wildly different in tone and content, in pictures of crusades, or exotic missionary adventures, echoes - particularly of early penny dreadfuls where pirate escapades and gothic adventure dominated before a later obsession with criminal themes - still resound. In this way the images, through association with other publications and genres, effect a creative picturing of the text that enhanced not only the textual narrative, but the appeal of the story and the material whole of the magazine, and correspondingly affected the way in which reader-viewers might approach them.

In the same adventurous vein, stories of missionaries were popular front-page material. 'A Home in the Land of Snow' appeared in 1858 as an account of mission to Greenland, and 'Irish Mission Scenes and Adventures' ran in the autumn

[20] Horst Dölvers, 'Depiction vs. picturing: Subversive illustrations in a Victorian picture-book', *Word & Image* 7:3 (1991), 210, doi:10.1080/02666286.1991.10435875.
[21] Gerard Curtis, *Visual Words: Art and the Material Book in Victorian England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 16, 35-36.

of 1862. Missionary literature had become a lucrative business, in the wake of David Livingstone's phenomenally successful 1857 biography *Missionary Travels*, so it is understandable that periodical editors would wish to capitalise on public interest in these exploits. Livingstone was by no means the instigator of the theme, however. The London Missionary Society (LMS) had been producing quarterly *Missionary Sketches* alongside its standard periodicals as far back as 1818, in which a full front-page illustration was discussed in a four-page pamphlet. By the 1840s, missionary men depicted in perilous situations were common. Examples include 'Perils among the Heathen' (1846), showing the murder of evangelists in Polynesia; 'Blessed are the Peace-Makers' (1848), illustrating patient Christians awaiting an approaching hoard of darkly-depicted 'natives', clad only in grass skirts and brandishing weapons; and 'Sufferings and Dangers of Missionaries' (1849), showing an attack on three missionaries in China.

Such presentations of the missionary experience elided the rather messier moral and gender positions that existed in reality. In the first half of the nineteenth century, when the humanitarian discourse defined a pacifistic and patiently-suffering missionary identity reflected in the pictorial examples described above, missionaries are known to have gifted and traded arms, as did John Read as early as 1816 in his interactions with Tlhaping chief Mothibi Molehabangwe.[22] The humanitarian discourse waned in the latter half of the century, overtaken by more muscular visions of heroic masculinity. Again, however, image was at a distance from, and overly simplified, reality. So Cleall finds the position of John Mackenzie, LMS missionary to what became (under his influence) the Bechuanaland Protectorate, to have been caught between political and negotiatory power in regional and international matters, and an emasculating martial inefficacy in the face of war. Mackenzie later reconfigured his experiences for consumption by the British public, emphasising not his inability to fight, but his higher function (in moral and masculine terms) as protector of the weak: in this revision, he did not flee conflict, but rather conducted women and children to safety.[23]

[22] Anthony J. Dachs, 'Missionary Imperialism—The Case of Bechuanaland', *Journal of African History,* 13:4 (1972), 647-648.
[23] Cleall, 'Masculinities', 245-247.

These supposed norms of male power and heroism, and female moral and domestic virtue, within European Protestant identity were contrasted with stereotypes of heathen moral and sexual deviation. African men were often characterised as sexually violent, while African women were presented in terms of hyper-sexuality, as with the Hottentot Venus.[24] Such negative gender constructions contributed to the previously described belief that Africa was an unsuitable missionary location for women, even after the shift in the 1860s to the employment of women as missionaries in their own right. This belief was not uniformly held across societies, but was a distinct feature of the LMS, which had a strong presence in southern Africa. Cleall quantifies this by showing that between 1860 and 1899 the LMS appointed 66 male missionaries to southern and central-African missions, compared to just 6 female missionaries, or eight percent of the total. This is in contrast with the situation in India where, in the same period, women made up 33 percent of new missionary appointments, and 39 percent in China.[25] African mission thus remained an almost exclusively male endeavour, with the sub-Saharan region, characterised as dark, dangerous and unexplored, requiring brave men to act simultaneously as explorers and evangelists.

Narrative illustrations, in combination with their companion texts, reinforced gendered and racialised constructions not only of mission, but of other strands of life, often closer to home.

4.2.2 Didactic

A second category of images in *The Sunday at Home,* and the one to which most attention will be addressed, comprises those performing a more overtly didactic function. Whereas narrative pictures interacted with text to create a visual-textual nexus of meaning, pictures I describe as didactic illustrations foregrounded the visual as the primary communicative medium. Serialised narratives were illustrated by multiple images that were not intended to stand alone, but to be understood in combination with the text; didactic images, though not removed from text-image interaction, were designed as more internally complete carriers

[24] Esme Cleall, *Missionary Discourses of Difference: Negotiating Otherness in the British Empire, 1840-1900* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 25, 36.
[25] Cleall, 'Masculinities', 233.

of meaning. These took various forms, including portraits, and the type of visual promotion of domestic and gendered morality seen in Morgan's analyses of American publications.[26]

Portraits commonly appeared in connection with biographical articles on such figures as Reformers, prominent contemporary churchmen, and other 'spiritual heroes'. Thomas Chalmers, Dr Villiers, Bishop of Durham, John Wycliffe, Andrew Fuller (BMS Secretary), and the Bishop of Ripon are among those portrayed.[27] This accords with the long-standing Protestant practice of producing and circulating likenesses of significant church men. As described in 3.2.1, this was given new vigour in the nineteenth century through the notion that 'the image of the face [is] the mass-mediated index of a person's character'.[28] Women, excluded from ordination, appeared with much less frequency, and often as adjuncts to male figures, as in portraits of Wycliffe's wife and mother. Elizabeth Barrett Browning's portrait in 1862 is a notable an exception.

In *The Sunday at Home*, there are many instances of physical appearance being employed for its supposed indexical relation to interior character. This is the case in engravings after paintings, drawings, or photographs of individuals and, from the 1880s, in the use of reproductions of photographs.[29] It is also recognisably present in illustrations such as *Not Slothful in Business* (1858),[30] in which the faces of a group of idlers in a carpenter's shop are markedly unpleasant in contrast to the handsome, hardworking carpenter in the foreground; beauty is linked with morality and goodness, sin and depravity marked by unattractive features. In the fabricated countenances of this illustration, the desired characteristics can be easily manipulated to serve their moralising purpose. In the case of portraits of named individuals, a balance must be struck between recognisability – the illusion of presence – and the emphasis on features or physical attitudes that affirm the person's deeper identity. In the majority of portraits, people acknowledged as historically, politically, or culturally significant and, as such, usually white men, are presented in head-and-shoulders view. In distinction from portraits of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, these typically eschewed the

[26] Morgan, *Sacred Gaze,* 191-219.
[27] *The Sunday at Home 1862* (London: Religious Tract Society, ca.1862), 628.
[28] Morgan, *Protestants and Pictures,* 10.
[29] From the 1880s, the half-tone process enabled the mass-reproduction of photographic images.
[30] *The Sunday at Home 1858* (London: Religious Tract Society, ca.1858), 760.

iconographic communication of a person's role, through the paraphernalia of a profession, or the tools of intellectual or military greatness; instead of these external symbols revealing the person, it was the form of the face that conveyed identity.

The didactic function of the encounter between periodical reader and the visages of the great and good was emulation and edification; to see face to face was somehow to know a person, and therefore to be affected by their moral character. These encounters were circumscribed by the formulaic appearances of the portrait figures as totemic Protestant figures, and often enhanced by the addition of handwriting as illustration, thought to act as a further indicator of inner character.[31] A series in *The Sunday at Home* in 1900 entitled 'The Handwriting of Famous Divines' provides an obvious example, but there were also reproductions of signatures, often alongside portrait images, including Alexander Keith (1862) and Charles Simeon (1877). As late as 1900, a letter from David Livingstone to his daughter Agnes was reproduced in facsimile, the visual strokes of his handwriting combining with the text to suggest the 'paternal solicitude' of the 'saintly and warm-hearted' man the accompanying commentary reads in it. In Letts' *Hundred*, too, signatures of the artists are featured, collated in a striking double-page spread at the rear of the volume.

There are important distinctions between these portraits of the 'great', and those of the 'heathen Other', who also appear within *The Sunday at Home* and its fellows. These were usually anonymous and stereotypical figures: 'A Fakir of Orissa' (*The Sunday at Home* 1877), 'Group of civilised Andamanese' (*Sunday Magazine* 1875), 'A Norseman' and 'A Norse Girl' (*Leisure Hour* 1888). In *Good Words* in 1870, 'A Few Russian Photographs' depicts twelve Russian types which, by 'their physiognomy, their dress, and their whole outward bearing' are said to convey information about their typical identities.[32] Similarly anthropologically categorised images became common, as with an illustration in William Walters' 1884 *Life of Robert Moffat*, entitled 'Types of Various African Tribes', presented in an almost field-guide format, and comparable to an illustration later in the

[31] Curtis, *Visual Words*, 13,24.
[32] Normal Macleod, ed., *Good Words 1870* (London: Strahan & Co., 1870), 667-672.

book showing examples of local flora and fauna.[33] Needless to say, handwriting was not appended to such images.

Portraits of pagan, heathen, or otherwise 'primitive' people were not univocal, though they tended to promote one of a number of distinct stereotypes: the 'noble savage', the degenerate heathen, the exemplary convert. Occasionally, an 'exotic' figure appeared named as well as pictured: Panchcowrie, Basutho Chief Mosheh (*The Sunday at Home* 1862), Chumah and Susi, who had accompanied the remains of David Livingstone back to Britain following his death (*The Sunday at Home* 1877). Even where figures were named, however, it was usual to see them presented in full-length, rather than head and shoulders, view. This enabled a greater emphasis on dress (whether 'native' or 'civilised'); ethnographic portraits that focused on specific aspects of facial features, adornments, or hair styles, were an exception.

The second, and perhaps more obvious, form didactic images took is that of full-page, captioned moral pictures, standing independent of text articles, but often accompanied by scriptural passages or poetry. They each promoted a message of virtuous life, usually through contemporary scenes of exemplary behaviour, and often promulgated highly gendered behavioural constructs. Four examples from *The Sunday at Home* in 1858 (figures 3-6) typify the genre as it appeared at mid-century. Common characteristics are the notable foregrounding of the man as authority figure – head of the family, instructor, and doer of good works – and the inclusion of biblical captions.

In figure 3, the caption is 'Remember now thy creator, in the days of thy youth'. Taken from Ecclesiastes 12:1, it reflects the pedagogical imperative to educate the young about their creator, reinforced by the presence of the Bible held in the schoolmaster's hand as the central text for religious and moral education. The items on the schoolroom wall also privilege the scriptural word, by displaying injunctions from the Mosaic Commandments, and the text of the Lord's Prayer. The only pictorial display is a printed map entitled 'The World', which points forwards to the importance of cartography in the practical and

[33] William Walters, *Life and Labours of Robert Moffat, D.D., Missionary in South Africa, with additional chapters on Christian missions in Africa and throughout the world* (London: Walter Scott, 1884), facing 120, 312.

imaginative outworking of mission, to which we will return in Chapter 6. The world map in the context of this illustration references the scale of creation, and indicates to the reader-viewer that knowledge of the world as well as of scripture is important, at least for the boys: as in Ecc.12:9, 'because the preacher was wise, he still taught the people knowledge'. The importance of education based on the Word, but conducted in the context of British global, imperial reach is clearly communicated by this image.

The caption for figure 4 is from Proverbs 25:25, and reads 'good news from a far country'. The 'good news' is likely of a successful missionary endeavour, being read out from a magazine to the gathered family. As well as the evident parallel between the family reader-viewers and those within the image, there is again a link made between home and abroad, this time not within a classroom setting, but within a domestic one. The exotic was in this instance brought within the domestic realm as a tamed thing. The distance indicated by description of a 'far country' is reduced by Christian intervention, signified by the gospel moniker of 'good news', becoming a margin drawn towards the imperial and religious centre. As Gibson explored in relation to children's missionary periodicals, the very construction of normative British middle-class domesticity was predicated on the establishment of the limits of the domestic, sited in the exoticism of far-off countries, and their 'ignorant' people. Furthermore, these publications – both the one within which this image appears, and the one pictured being read – functioned as mediators between home and empire, or home and mission field. Through 'the languages of religion, domesticity, and Christian civilization' children were constructed as particular gendered, religious, and imperial subjects, and those subjectivities would proceed to define not only childhood, but adult conceptions of self and place in the world, which would have a deep influence on the activity of future missionaries, and the perpetuation of these constructions.[34]

In the third example, a sentimental portrayal of the rural and domestic idyll takes the male educator out of the interior setting of figures 3 and 4, and places him in a scene of domesticated nature (figure 5). Captioned 'Consider the lilies how they grow' (Luke 12:27), the man is imparting knowledge, as he was in the previous images, but in this case does so not through reading a text, but the 'book

[34] Gibson, 'Perils of reading', 112.

of nature'. There is both a religious implication, as evidence of divine providence, and an intellectual one, with the man's pose and gesture suggesting the explication of scientific and aesthetic meaning. The analogy of reading in relation to nature also recalls the argument put forward by Curtis that the lines of drawing and writing were not only deeply related to one another in mid-Victorian thought and practice, but to ways of seeing the wider world. Drawing was a scientific as well as an artistic skill, and graphic inscriptions of nature were intimately linked with textual interpretations.[35] In 'Consider the lilies', the reader-viewer sees the illustration of the natural world in image, alongside the man who is 'reading' it for his family, and both man and reader-viewer interpret through the textual caption, itself derived from the scriptural Word.

The final illustration in this grouping, shown in figure 5, promotes a form of evangelical social action based on act rather than line: bourgeois benevolent charity at home. Quoting Galatians 6:9 ('Be not weary in well doing: for in due season we shall reap, if we faint not'), it valorises beneficence in the face of poverty and lack of belief at home as an extension of the imperial subjectivity that sees religious and cultural 'elevation' of the foreign heathen as virtue. Since many foreign missionaries began on the home front, as Chapter 5 will demonstrate, this connection between charitable and foreign-mission endeavours was imaginatively and practically significant.

The engraver of three of these examples was George Measom, who himself had a particular interest in the moral influence of the Bible, demonstrated in the publication of his *The Bible: Its Elevating Influence on Man* in 1849. Comprised of six engravings charting the spiritual rescue of a drunkard through the influence of scripture, this volume indicates Measom's evangelical view of the biblical word as instigator of personal salvation and onward evangelisation, which are themes strongly evident in his *The Sunday at Home* images. By the 1880s, the tone had somewhat changed from Measom's engravings, and the primacy of the male figure so evident in the 1850s moral images had diminished. Figures 7 and 8, from *The Sunday at Home* in 1884, place women and children in the role of evangelical readers of the gospels, reflecting increased educational provision for girls, but more so a changing emphasis on the importance of child and female religiosity.

[35] Curtis, *Visual Words*, 12.

From the 1860s, women's employment as independent foreign missionaries became increasingly accepted by the main British missionary societies, whilst traditional charitable visiting of the poor by wealthy women was being augmented by the rise of lower class 'Bible women' at home.[36] Opportunities for women to take on roles as Sunday and day-school teachers had also improved during the second half of the nineteenth century.[37] Counter to these positive readings, however, Curtis' assertion that in the later nineteenth century image became subsidiary to text may have implications for the interpretation of the feminising of domestic reading practice; the imaging of women as readers risks, by extension, subordinating them to the text they are delivering.

Perhaps the strongest message conveyed through these moral illustrations is that of the home as a moral hub and social model. As a publication designed for a domestic audience, for personal or family consumption, such an emphasis in *The Sunday at Home* is perhaps fitting. Yet the didactic trope of the Christian home is not merely a private matter or message. As we saw with the examples above, imagery is woven in with the evangelical call to action, whether through the exemplification of virtue, or through social action. So Christopher Tolley asserts that '[t]he legacy of the evangelicals (and it was one that had a wide influence on nineteenth-century England) lay less in doctrine or Church membership than in family life and family values'.[38] Adopting the spirit of the Clapham Sect's social reform agenda, evangelicals within and beyond the Anglican Church increasingly promoted the family as central to religious and social improvement, and reflected its prominence visually within its literature. The Christian home also became immensely important in the ideology of foreign mission, and in its visual representation, inscribed in the material as well as the moral construction of mission stations, as will be explored in Chapter 7. Tropes of the idealised home appearing in the religious periodical press helped to cement this agenda in the imaginations of future missionaries, reinforcing ideologically the pragmatic desire

[36] Alison Twells, *The Civilising Mission and the English Middle Class 1792-1850: the 'Heathen' at Home and Overseas* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 116-117.
[37] Anne M. Boylan, 'Evangelical Womanhood in the Nineteenth Century: The Role of Women in Sunday Schools', *Feminist Studies* 4:3 (1978), 62-80, http://www.jstor.org/stable/3177538.
[38] Christopher Tolley, *Domestic Biography: The Legacy of Evangelicalism in Four Nineteenth-Century Families* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 2.

of missionary societies to send wives with their missionary men as moral and sexual regulators, and keepers of domestic values.

As with 'anti-portraits' of heathens, the normative moral ideal was reinforced by the image of its Other. The amoral exotic performed the function of counterfoil to the moral didactic of home, especially in the 1850s and '60s. Images of the exotic occurred frequently, accompanying mission reports, articles on non-Western cultural and religious practices, and narrative tales. An article on 'Eastern Dress' in September 1862 featured four pictures across a double page, with two further illustrations on the next two, all giving visual examples of the dress described by the text.[39] Combined exotic-narrative illustrations are also found, such as the 1858 serial 'A Home in the Land of Snow', charting the fortunes of a mission family in Greenland. Together, such exotic images form an impression of the uncivilised, barbarous, immoral Other, but also of the civilised, moral Christian self and its domestic core.

The colour reproduction of a Birkett Foster painting entitled 'No place like home', appearing on the frontispiece of the 1884 *The Sunday at Home* annual (figure 9), is a good example of the prevalent visualisation of the home itself. It depicts a weary labourer returning home through a snowy, rural landscape, to be greeted by women and children emerging from an idyllic, warmly lit cottage. A poem of the same title appears several pages on, attributed to one 'S.E.G.':

> No place like home! Home with its welcome cheery,
> Its eager hearts fulfilling love's behest,
> Its tender ministration to the weary,
> Its atmosphere of rest.
>
> No place like home! Aye, truly, if possessing
> The sacred link uniting heaven to earth;
> For what is home without the crowning blessing
> That gives all others worth?
>
> No place like home! O Saviour, meek and lowly,
> Who once a homeless wanderer didst roam,
> Let thy presence make the dwelling holy,
> No place is then like home. [40]

[39] *The Sunday at Home 1862*, 600-603.
[40] *The Sunday at Home 1884* (London: Religious Tract Society), 4.

Home is the 'sacred link' between the earthly and the divine, but also the link between the worldly male realm and the domestic female one. In the description of woman's 'tender ministration', and the visual representation of the womenfolk at the cottage door bringing the weary man into their warm and restful domain, we see the home functioning as a moral and physical salve for the man sullied and wearied by his interactions with the world. The importance that came to be placed on the missionary home, as building and ideal, and the role of the missionary wife at its heart, is an extension of this romanticised domesticity to the frontiers of Christian experience.

The English rural idyll of Birkett Foster's scene is also striking, portraying a chocolate-box ideal of the national home in distinction from the far countries of the foreign. Similar compositions by other artists appeared both in Britain and America in this period. For instance, David Morgan's *Protestants and Pictures* discusses a strikingly similar illustration of a worker returning home, based on an image by English engraver, Thomas Bewick, of a returning soldier.[41] In an idealisation of rural life and poverty, pastoral scenes are shown to reflect the divine beauty of nature, and the supposed divine ordination of the patriarchal family. Examples of this same domestic trope abound within *The Sunday at Home*. Allan Barraud's 'Summer Foliage,'[42] for instance, is accompanied by Mary Rowles' poem 'In the leafy month of June.' The lines 'Year by year the woods enfold/ Edens lovely as of old,/ in God's smile reposing' make explicit the link between an idealised pastoral rurality, and divine blessing. The visual image itself has at its centre a woman standing on a broad, smooth path, watching a young girl picking flowers from a verdant hedgerow. Behind them, partly concealed behind the abundant foliage of its title, is a pretty thatched cottage roof. The path on which the figures stand leads back to this, while it culminates in the foreground in a fence and stile over which the viewer is looking. The woman and child are unaware of the viewer's gaze, putting us in the place of the returning worker of the frontispiece in the moment prior to being seen and welcomed back to the

[41] Morgan, *Protestants and Pictures,* 56.
[42] *The Sunday at Home 1884,* 393.

home. The illusion is thereby created that the idyll exists independently of the observer, whether artist or viewer.[43]

In contrast, an almost full-page engraving of 'The Crusader's Return' (1884) shows a weary traveller returning, not bathed in the glow of domestic bliss, but in despair and sorrow (figure 10).[44] It is set within the text of an article on the 'mania' of crusading, which focuses not on its heroes, but 'the very scum and refuse of society' that accompanied them and engaged in licentious behaviour. Directly beneath the picture is a short verse by a Mrs Hemans, in which a mother bids a crusader-pilgrim rest, and supposes his sorrow stems from having had to part with an Eastern lover, before finally recognising him as her son. With this poem as an interpreter of the scene, the viewer is led to see a reversal of the happy homecoming, caused by his contact with immorality abroad. In his hand is a 'withered' branch, his weathered features are described in terms of 'darkness', and the mother is disturbed by his tears for a(n imagined) foreign woman. The message of this image-text recalls the role women were called on to occupy as missionary wives, safeguarding the moral positions of their husbands against the scandalous temptations of foreign flesh.

In 'A mother's good-bye' (1884; figure 11), the maternal role in children's moral and religious education is specifically visualised. A boy about to embark on a career at sea embraces his mother, in a close group also with his sister. The man behind them, looking out to sea, may be presumed to be the boy's father but could be his new employer, waiting to take him away from the domestic realm and into that of the working man. The accompanying poem has the mother advising her son of right moral conduct, the compass of which should be her from whom he received instruction: 'have no friend, nor deed, nor thought,/ Which may not meet your mother's eyes!'.[45] This message is given greater weight in the annual volume, where the picture is preceded on the facing page by an article in the previous issue's 'Pages for the Young' entitled 'The Children's Compass'. Referring to biblical guidance, this coincidence links the Bible and domestic

[43] See also 1884, 280, 305, 473, all combining rural/floral/pastoral scenes with domesticity and women. Also p.169, full page without additional text, reproduction of Sir Joshua Reynolds' 'Simplicity', engraved by C. Butterworth; young girl with flowers in rural setting.
[44] *The Sunday at Home 1884*, 377.
[45] *The Sunday at Home 1884*, 657.

education as pillars of religious direction, and is a reminder of the influence exerted by the layout and material form of the texts and images.

A final example of the didactic type is drawn from 1858, and captioned 'Hallowed be thy name' (figure 12).[46] Adhering to the pattern seen in figures 3-6, the father is the authority figure, in this case spiritually. It depicts a domestic scene where members of the household kneel around a table on which stands an open book, presumably the Bible. The father is on the left, facing the open pages, finger tips joined and face raised heavenwards in an attitude of prayer; it is the father rather than the mother in the position of domestic religious instructor as might be expected of the period. In the mould of late eighteenth-century views, the male role is Abrahamic: he must '*command his children and household after him, that they may keep the way of the Lord*'.[47] Such views persisted into the nineteenth century, one example from 1834 stating:

> In reference to the *private duties* of the Sabbath. Every head of a family has many of these to perform, to his children, and dependents. He ought, it is true, to exercise a spiritual superintendence over his household at all times. Like Abraham, he should "command his children and his household after him, that they keep the way of the Lord, to do justice and judgement".[48]

This was particularly to be observed on the Sabbath.

In 'Hallowed be thy name', however, there is the additional element of a copy of Da Vinci's *Last Supper* evident on the wall behind the family. Painted as a mural for the wall of a Dominican refectory in Milan in 1495-8, this image has become one of the most enduring and recognisable depictions of Christ across denominations, remaining central to Christian iconography today as demonstrated in its continued reworking into new – sometimes subversive – forms.[49] It is instantly recognisable here, even as a vague outlined sketch. The Da Vinci image appears also in many illustrated Bibles, including Fisher's 1840 *Illustrated Family Bible*,

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[46] *The Sunday at Home 1858*, 584.
[47] Samuel Palmer, 'An Apology for the Christian Sabbath' (London: Conder and Knott, 1799), 50.
[48] United Associate Synod, 'Address on Sabbath Sanctification, to the People Under Their Charge' (Edinburgh: Thomas Turnbull, 1834), 22.
[49] See MacGregor and Langmuir, *Seeing Salvation*, 104-107; also Susan Lambert, *The Image Multiplied: Five Centuries of Printed Reproductions of Paintings and Drawings*. (London: Trefoil, 1987), ch.7. For contemporary reworkings of *The Last Supper,* take for instance photographic artist Renee Cox's 1996 Yo Mama's Last Supper in which the central Christ-figure is the naked artist herself; or Becki Jane Harrelson's 2003 Study for the Last Supper in which a gay Christ embraces his beloved disciple (reproduced in Kittredge Cherry, *Art That Dares: Gay Jesus, Woman Christ, and More* (Berkeley, CA: Androgyne Press, 2007), 46).

and early editions of Knight's *Pictorial Bible*. As MacGregor and Langmuir attest, the Da Vinci image has acquired the status of being something like the true likeness of Christ, its inclusion within the pages of Scripture affirming its veracity. Its presence on the fictional wall in *The Sunday at Home* is a realistic inclusion, prints of the image being readily available, and promoted as suitable for those concerned with religious and artistic excellence. In the professedly non-denominational journal *The Homilist*, edited by the Congregationalist minister David Thomas, an engraving of the *Last Supper* by G.F. Bacon was recommended in 1864: 'Our readers who are lovers of sacred art of the highest class will do well to procure this beautiful engraving'.[50] It is also listed in Letts' *Hundred*, indicating its position as a picture deemed most suitable for display on the walls of the home. The inclusion of the print within the periodical's engraving reinforced to reader-viewers the idea of a canon of acceptable religious images, and provides additional historical evidence of the visual surroundings in religious homes in the second half of the nineteenth century.

4.2.3 Sacred space

In relation to Birkett Foster's *No Place Like Home*, the presentation of an Edenic British rural landscape has already been alluded to. This is one element of the third category of illustrations identified in *The Sunday at Home*, which I group under the heading of 'sacred space' images. These include architectural, topographical, and landscape illustrations, the inclusion of which within the material and text-image format of the religious periodical leads them to be considered by the reader-viewer as in some way sacred, though they may not obviously be considered so if removed from that context.

Engravings of architectural subjects appear regularly, and where they depict significant churches and cathedrals, the religious significance of place is evident. For secular streets and buildings, such as 'Chester street scenes' (*The Sunday at Home* April 1858), it is the text that orientates towards the sacred. The scenes of Chester, for example, appear within the regular slot 'Homes and Haunts of Piety', and while the visuals highlight the architecture of the place, the article uses that place as the scene of the life of a seventeenth century Nonconformist

[50] David Thomas, *The Homilist Volume III* (London: Kent & Co., 1864), 180.

minister, Matthew Henry.[51] The buildings link the reader-viewer to an occupant or local resident, as if there were some residual essence of the person there. As such, the place becomes a site of armchair pilgrimage. The first article of 'Homes and Haunts of Piety' in 1858, however, articulates an ambivalent attitude:

> We live in an age of locomotion. The facilities of transit are continually fostering the inclination to visit scenes of natural beauty, or localities associated with eminent names. However laudable such tastes may be, it is not in general the object of 'The Sunday at Home' to minister to them. But there are some spots almost sanctified by the memories of the pious and the venerable; spots associated with devout remembrances and labours of usefulness. To visit in imagination such scenes may not only perpetuate pious remembrances, but be serviceable to the cause of religion.[52]

Viewing these 'almost sanctified' places through a virtual pilgrimage enabled by text and illustration gave access to their spiritual benefit without the need to travel to see them. Given the concerns held by many over Sunday excursions and leisure activities, however edifying, as detracting from proper religious practice and contemplation, enabling such excursions to occur imaginatively from the home hearth would have been a desirable alternative.

The inclusion of British buildings seemingly of only secular interest may elsewhere be linked with British nationalism, and the construction of a civilised/uncivilised dichotomy discursively linked with that of the Christian/heathen: buildings can function as signifiers of civilisation and progress, or of its lack. So too with images of religious architecture, such as the colour frontispiece image of Westminster Abbey (*The Sunday at Home* 1862), religious buildings can stand as testament to the appropriateness of British imperial power. Picturing buildings designed for the unfortunate (e.g. Brompton Consumption Hospital, 1862; alms-houses, 1884) celebrates benevolent, philanthropic efforts at home.

Similarly, illustrations of missionary buildings (*The Sunday at Home*, 1862; also many examples in the LMS *Missionary Sketches* series), substantiate the idea of missionary progress through physical presence. Buildings not only change the landscape, but appropriate, and thereby in a sense conquer, a space. Missionary

[51] *The Sunday at Home 1858,* 246-247.
[52] *The Sunday at Home 1858,* 103.

chapels, schools, medical centres, and other outpost buildings lay claim to the land as well as working towards the claiming of souls. In *Missionary Sketches* No.5, July 1819, 'Destruction of the Idols at Otaheite; pulling down a Pagan Altar, and building a Christian Church' this physical appropriation is particularly evident, though the representation of space as claimed did not always reflect the more contested and tentative reality (see Chapter 6).[53]

Picturing space and the claiming of territory are intertwined. Through architectural/topographical illustration and mapping, places were simultaneously depicted and constructed. The very act of visual depiction made a place or scene present to the viewer, in some sense enabling that viewer to *possess* it. Such illustrations were also employed to validate biblical truth. In the latter decades of the nineteenth century, the Palestinian Exploration Fund, operated by the Royal Engineers, surveyed 'every square mile of Western Palestine' from which a 'magnificent' map was produced, and published in formats suitable for Sunday Schools and biblical students, a feat celebrated by *The Sunday at Home*.[54] Photographs from this exploration were also widely reproduced, for instance in Watson's *The Life of Jesus Christ the Saviour* (1885).[55] Such photographs of the Holy Land, as Yeshayahu Nir has identified, reveal a British tendency to incorporate natural landscape as a central aspect of composition, whereas contemporary French photographers were much more focused on architectural subjects.[56] British photographer Rev. George W. Bridges thus described his Holy Land series as 'fac-similes of (biblical) scenes, satisfying at once the requirements of truth and the delight connected with a display of the beauties of Nature'.[57]

As well as being used as affirmations of biblical veracity, landscapes were employed as evidence of God. In response to Darwinian scientific descriptions, and explanations of the natural world as self-supporting and superseding the need to posit a divine creator, religious publications attempted to commensurate the

[53] Otaheite was the realm of King Pomare, who converted to Christianity and destroyed his pagan idols. October 1818 and April 1821 *Missionary Sketches* illustrate his family idols and himself respectively.
[54] *The Sunday at Home 1884*, 342.
[55] S. Watson, *The Life of Jesus Christ the Saviour retold from the Evangelists* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1887), 155 (Lake Galilee).
[56] Yeshayahu Nir, 'Cultural Predispositions in Early Photography: The Case of the Holy Land', *Journal of Communication* (1985), 34.
[57] Nir, 'Cultural Predispositions', 34; note also that the advent in the 1880s of halftone screen processes meant photographs themselves could be printed, without mediation by an etcher or engraver.

scientific and the divine. So, both traditional landscapes and close-up, natural-history style images appeared, often accompanied by religious prose or poetry that set nature in support of, rather than evidence against, God. This method had already been employed in biblical illustration, with Knight's *Pictorial Bible* for instance full of vignettes depicting plants and animals from scripture in naturalistic form to concretise the biblical text.

The emergence of nature as a dominant trope in *The Sunday at Home* by the 1880s was preceded by other periodicals. Ehnes identifies it as significant in *Good Words* in the early 1860s, where illustrated nature poetry was being 'used to emphasise the presence of God in the reader's world'.[58] Natural beauty is depicted there as poetic and contemplative, especially where nature is ordered by humanity as in pastoral scenes, or by God as in illustrations of seasons. Seasons also feature prominently in *The Sunday at Home* in 1884, in a series of colour plates accompanied by short poems (figure 13). As well as the hand of God in nature, these images encourage traditional cyclical devotional practice, following the movements of the natural and liturgical years in a contemplative way, and thus also contributing to the construction of the domestic space within which it was to be read as sacred.

4.2.4 Biblical

Across the categories of narrative, didactic, and sacred space imagery surveyed thus far, the primary intention of artists and publishers has been to provide instruction for the reader-viewer, either positive or negative. With the exception of more spiritually reflective nature images that emerged in later decades, images aiming to guide readers' moral and national sensibilities predominated. Portraits of the righteous, architecture inspirational for its Protestant or British character, and narrative pictures of pious or moral activities all gave positive models of Christian life and society. By contrast, cautionary scenes of exotic, historical, or Roman idolatry and false worship offered a negative image.[59] The reader would have been expected to understand, from prior knowledge of Protestant belief and from accompanying texts, that these latter images represented the misguided or

[58] Ehnes, 'Good Words', 477.
[59] *The Sunday at Home 1862,* 145 is an example of Reformation scene showing historical and Roman idolatry.

wilfully sinful practices of others, and contrasted with the righteous practice of their own faith.

What is rarely found in the pages of *The Sunday at Home* is the visualisation of scripture itself, and where such images do appear they are naturalistic or sentimental. The grand symbolism of Moreau, or the apocalyptic grandeur of John Martin, are not reproduced. In part, the relative absence of biblical illustration may be accounted for by a general extension of the understanding of 'religious art' to the extra-scriptural. So James Burns, in his 1908 *Sermons on Art,* can ascribe to Millet's non-scriptural *The Angelus* the reputation as 'the most religious picture painted during the past century'.[60] Scarcity of biblical pictures in periodical pages may further be attributed to the existing availability of the genre in illustrated family Bibles, art galleries, lantern shows, and prints.

The biblical images that do appear in *The Sunday at Home* include a handful of Old Testament illustrations, such as 'A Valley in Sinai' accompanying one part of a series on the plagues of Egypt in 1858,[61] and six 'Scripture Illustrations' listed in the 1880 engravings index.[62] A notable inclusion, in 1884, is a full-page engraving of 'Hagar and Ishmael in the Desert', from an 1883 painting by the Czech artist, Emanuel Krescenc Liška.[63] Gospel illustrations are scarcer still. In the 1858 edition, 'The Journey of the Magi' is pictured (figure 14),[64] but with its camels and eastern dress, it would perhaps have been viewed more in the category of the exotic than as an illustration of gospel truth. This sense is reinforced by the positioning of the image. It is presumably meant to accompany a poem entitled *The Birth of Christ* on the facing page, but the flow from text to image is interrupted by the opening paragraph of the next article on *The Plagues of Egypt*.

The colour frontispiece of the 1880 annual, with Psalm 23 in decorative font, accompanied by a picture of a shepherd and his sheep, is particularly notable. Although superficially a text-image combination drawn from the Hebrew Bible, it seems also to overlap into gospel territory. The image of the Good Shepherd has

[60] J. Burns, *Sermons in Art by the Great Masters* (London: Duckworth, 1908), 19.
[61] *The Sunday at Home 1858*, 696.
[62] *Dalziels' Bible Gallery*, 1881, was a specially commissioned collection of prints by recognised artists; all were taken from the Old Testament.
[63] This was described in art journal *The Academy*, 629 (May 24, 1884), 373, as a pathetic picture.
[64] *The Sunday at Home 1858*, 809.

appeared as far back as early catacomb art as a type of Christ, and viewers of this page would presumably understand a prefiguring of Christ here.[65] Indeed, this image of the shepherd Christ is so entrenched in Christian iconography, that its placement with a textual referent is probably not required to convey such meaning. So the full-colour picture on page 84 of the same volume, 'Snow on Olivet', showing a shepherd and his flock in the setting of a biblical land, might have been viewed in much the same way as the explicitly biblical 'The Lord's My Shepherd'.

As Dyrness reflects on similar publications in America, 'popular art, where it did have religious connotations, served the ideal of a personal and inward spirituality'; it did not seek to objectify the gospel Word. In the first issue of *The Sunday at Home* of 1862, an article entitled 'Looking unto Jesus' reflects the accepted form of seeing the divine: 'As the runner of old fixed his eye on the end of the course […] so must the Christian keep his eye of faith fixed on Jesus'.[66] Rather than allow potentially idolatrous imagery to 'obtrude on the eye', the gaze of the Christian should be steadily trained on the spiritual Christ. While the physical 'image' may corrupt, inner mental or spiritual images offer less potential for idolatry in a modern Protestant schema. In contrast, Nicholas Constas, in discussion on Catholic understandings of the physical image or icon, states that 'whereas contemplation of mental figmenta may be nothing more than idolatrous, narcissistic self-delusion, contemplation of the icon is a concrete, dialogical encounter with the sacred presence of a transfigured Other'.[67] In practice, Protestant biblical illustration tended towards excessive naturalism that threatened to exclude the spiritual altogether. William Holman Hunt's 'Scapegoat', painstakingly rendered from real-life observations of the Dead Sea and a rare white Palestinian goat, was criticised as too fully depicting a particular animal without successfully expressing its typological significance.[68]

[65] This was particularly so in light of the contemporary resurgence of interest in typological or emblematic text-images.
[66] *The Sunday at Home 1862*, 5.
[67] Constas, 'Icons and the Imagination', 117.
[68] Giebelhausen, *Painting the Bible,* 160-161: even John Ruskin, usually Hunt's most vocal supporter, felt 'Scapegoat' to have succeeded in execution, but not in meaning.

4.3 Reading at home on Sunday

In the context of this wider visual culture, it is interesting to pose the question of whether the gaze of *The Sunday at Home* reader would, in Morgan's terminology, have been 'sacred'. Textually and physically designated 'for Sabbath reading', it was intended to be read in a domestic rather than an ecclesial setting. Nonetheless, given the allocation of the Lord's Day as appropriate to its content, what might be termed a 'semi-sacred' attitude was expected of its reception. This would perhaps have been more the case for the weekly editions. As Ehnes describes, the regular instalment format of the periodical 'imposes a narrative of Christian thought and devotional reading practices', echoing the liturgical cycle of devotional material found for example in John Keble's *The Christian Year*.[69] The greater devotional impact of the ephemeral editions is affirmed by Felmingham's assessment that the gift book was designed to be approached in a more casual manner than weekly or monthly volumes.[70]

While an attitude of piety may have been the intention of the authors and publishers, however, readers did not necessarily match up to this expectation. The idea of compulsion in relation to children's reading has already been alluded to; a child coerced into reading a religious text, rather than approaching it by choice, might be expected to present a sullen rather than a sacred attitude. Similarly, adults could approach the material in a variety of attitudes, from the reluctant or casual, to the pious or devotional. Without finding evidence amongst individual readers' personal papers, I can only conjecture on particular encounters, but the probability of such variety suggests the potential for a disjunction between actual and intended reception.

While the virtual absence of the biblical in its illustrations places *The Sunday at Home* outwith a narrow definition of 'Christian imagery', the reader-viewer's mind was intended to be turned to the divine in acts of 'visual piety': 'if I am a faithful Christian', a reader may (explicitly or implicitly) conclude, 'I will do as these examples before me do'. Indeed, instruction and inspiration, as for instance in the Gotha altarpiece, are often considered acceptable functions of images in the Reformed tradition. Pictures are not objects of devotion; it would

[69] Ehnes, 'Good Words', 468.
[70] Michael Felmingham, *The Illustrated Gift Book 1880–1930* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1988), 2.

be unquestionably idolatrous in the evangelical mind to pray to an image, or even to pray before one. To be inspired to prayer by an image (of natural beauty, perhaps, or of a godly person), could however be accepted as a legitimate and useful consequence of that image's appearance.

The interrelation of different textual and visual forms and content ensures that what was contained within the pages of a particular periodical or book did not constitute the boundaries of its meaning. Literary works, as Gerard Genette asserts, are replete with the 'adornments' of multiple 'paratexts' – that is, non-textual elements that have a bearing on the reception of the text:

> although we do not always know whether these productions are to be regarded as belonging to the text, in any case they surround and extend it, precisely in order to *present* it, in the usual sense of this verb but also in the strongest sense: to *make present*, to ensure the text's presence in the world, its 'reception' and consumption in the form (nowadays at least) of a book.[71]

These paratextual 'productions' are constituted by peritext (located within the book – title page, illustration, authorial information) and epitext (located outside the book – interviews, reviews, correspondence, and prior knowledge held by the reader). Genette's example of this last type of epitext is where a reader's existing knowledge of an author's sex or sexuality influences how a text is read or valued; in the case of the religious periodical, the key epitext is knowledge of the Bible itself.[72] The Bible, and biblical images viewed in other contexts, would have affected deeply how text, and peritextual illustrations, would have been interpreted, particularly in the semi-sacred reading environment of an evangelical Sunday. Thus, even where biblical exposition appears in the periodical as text alone, it may bring to mind images known to the reader, from art, illustrated Bibles, or other sources and, conversely, illustrations ostensibly on secular or non-scriptural subjects would be informed by biblical knowledge.

Furthermore, the Bible itself has perhaps the broadest, most complex paratext of any book. While the peritext may in many volumes be small, as in BFBS editions, or large, as with editions lavishly illustrated and containing detailed commentary, the epitext is inescapably vast. Sermons, prayer books, articles,

[71] Gerard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, Literature, Culture, Theory, volume 20 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 1.
[72] Genette, *Paratexts,* 2-8.

bible notes, Sunday school education, Holy Land travel writings, art, and anti-Semitic or anti-Roman propaganda, to name a few, all form the epitext that contributes to the way in which the Bible is viewed and read. There was also a great deal of choice for middle-class British consumers to exercise, as such an array of images, texts, and image-texts were available for public, ecclesial, and domestic consumption. In contrast, as will become apparent in subsequent chapters, those encountering mission Christianity were likely to be exposed to text-only Bibles, or biblical extracts, and Christian visual imagery was limited to that which was imported by mission and colonial agents and which, as with periodical illustrations, was often linked not only with scripture, but with Western cultural paradigms and interpretations. The paratextual framework within which foreign converts and potential converts encountered the Bible and other religious publications was more limited, which circumstance inevitably informed the reception of missionary visual resources.

5. Educating missionaries and missionary education: the place of art and image

The previous chapter set out the importance of printed media in the construction of a body of missive imagery that preceded as well as accompanied individuals' calls to mission. The focus in this chapter is on the more specific circumstance of education and training, with an examination of the place of art and image within missionary preparation and activity through the lens of education. Taking the two distinct, yet intimately related, sides of missionary education – preparatory and field – the underpinnings of missionary approaches to image are interrogated, in pedagogical and practical terms. Beginning with the broader context of missionary education and training, the chapter will go on to consider how and why visual elements were, or were not, incorporated into it. It will consider how a missionary-in-training encountered images in vocational education, taking into account the images themselves, and how underlying attitudes of the missionary society or denomination implicit in syllabus construction laid part of the foundation for later work in the field. The visual impact of wider social, religious, and cultural experiences, explored in the previous chapters, also played their part in the construction of that foundation, but the specific input of training for mission in the creation of normative attitudes to imagery cannot be discounted. As will become clear, however, the specificity of such training was in reality often limited, and engagement with images in theory or practice sporadic at best.

In order to tease out the place of pictures in this context, evidence from the Church of Scotland women's missionary training college (later St Colm's), Edinburgh, and the records of the ecumenical London Missionary Society have been utilised. Both institutions were important for Scottish mission, but provide complementary perspectives given their denominational, geographic, and gender differences. The LMS had historically trained and sent many Scottish missionaries during the early nineteenth century, when Presbyterian churches' zeal for mission had yet to take hold, and continued to be an important society for Scots, and for southern Africa, into the twentieth century. The significance of St Colm's, opened only in 1894, was in the development of women's mission, but it was also heavily involved in wider issues and practices within Scottish mission, and played a contributory role in the 1910 Edinburgh missionary conference.

The second part of the chapter will move from the education and training of missionaries at home, to the practical application of image and art within African foreign missionary education. Following the two missionary societies already named, primary sources from the LMS's Lovedale Institution in South Africa, and Church of Scotland missionary records, are used to provide concrete examples of the presence and uses of art and image within missionary settings, and to examine their relations to policy and training. This will lay the ground for the in-depth study of aspects of missionary image in practice that follows in the succeeding two chapters.

5.1 Policy and Training

5.1.1 Training missionary men

The training of missionaries in Britain is a complex and heterogeneous topic, for several reasons: the number of missionary societies from a range of denominations (and ecumenical societies such as the LMS); differences in education and training available for candidates from higher and lower socio-economic classes; differences between provisions for men and women; and changes in both theory and practical provision between 1840 and 1910. As it is not possible within the scope of this chapter to tackle each element in detail, a brief overview will be followed by case studies of St Colm's college, Edinburgh, and the activities of the LMS, which will focus attention on two of the key missionary players in the African case-study areas in Malawi and South Africa.

In the early nineteenth century, when foreign mission was the exclusive preserve of men, there was in general a lack of interest in robust and specific missionary training.[1] Jeffrey Cox comments that 'When it came to the recruitment, training, and outfitting of missionaries, or providing them with a theory of missionary practice, [the LMS] appear to have depended largely on God's providence'.[2] Belief in providential provision was accompanied by commitment to a scriptural evangelism that made knowledge of the Bible paramount. What was required, according to Hastings, 'was a good knowledge of the Bible, a great deal of faith, and a strong voice'.[3] The early vanguard of men who fitted this profile

[1] Hastings, *Church in Africa,* 258-259.
[2] Cox, *Missionary Enterprise*, 83.
[3] Hastings, *Church in Africa,* 258.

were evangelical English nonconformists and Scottish dissenters, typically from the skilled working (or artisan) class.[4] As men both outside the established churches, and outside the social elite, the missionaries of the first decades of the modern movement were excluded from mainstream university education,[5] and from being treated with seriousness by many within church organisations: there was a tension between mission mentality on the one hand, and academic and social status on the other.

This was a very real problem for the Church of England, which established its own missionary society in 1799 but struggled to recruit missionaries to staff it. While its leaders wanted to send ordained, rather than lay, men abroad, its ministers were of higher educational and social status than those of dissenting congregations, and would have had more to lose in doing so. None came forward. Meanwhile, prospective missionaries lacked the socio-economic means required for higher education,[6] and the church was reluctant to consider ordaining such a 'person of inferior station', in case they eschewed their missionary calling and ended up as inappropriate specimens of regular clergymen in England. John Venn, one of the founders of the Church Missionary Society (CMS), believed that 'a missionary, dwelling among savages rude and illiterate, does not require the same kind of talents, manners or learning as are necessary in an officiating minister in England'.[7] Such attitudes caught the CMS in an impasse of its own making: only episcopally ordained clergy could engage in mission, but none wished to; the men who desired to embrace missionary vocation were excluded from ordination, so could not go.[8]

The society struggled on by means of an interim arrangement with European Lutherans, who provided missionary personnel to staff the English mission, and vastly outnumbered home-grown volunteers until 1815. The ongoing inability to attract sufficient clergy to the missionary cause even after this date led the CMS

[4] T. Thomas, 'Foreign Missions and Missionaries in Victorian Britain' in John Wolffe (ed.), *Religion in Victorian Britain Volume V: Culture and Empire* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 113.
[5] Nonconformists could not access Oxford or Cambridge until the passing of The Universities Tests Act in 1871. The Anglican Church Missionary Society, though established in 1799, struggled to recruit English clergy and relied on foreign, especially German Lutheran, missionaries.
[6] Alison Hodge, 'The Training of Missionaries for Africa: The Church Missionary Society's Training College at Islington, 1900-1915', *Journal of Religion in Africa* IV (1972), 82, doi:10.2307/1594736.
[7] Quoted in Walls, *Missionary Movement*, 165.
[8] Walls, *Missionary Movement*, 165-166.

to establish, in 1825, a missionary training college in Islington.[9] Its curriculum was not specifically missionary, but provided, in Walls' analysis, 'a liberal and theological education as near as possible to what the home ministry would get'.[10] Walls goes on to argue that

> any special missionary training which the Islington College supplied would be incidental, and in a sense accidental; its main function was to provide enough language, literature, theology, and good manners for a man from the lower middle class to pass muster as a clergyman.[11]

This function, and the missionary demographic, was expanded with the opening of the society's Preparatory Institution at Clapham in 1868, which provided a basic level of education in preparation for the Islington entrance exam. The Preparatory Institution focused on biblical knowledge, Latin, Greek, English history, basic medicine, sport, and practical skills such as carpentry and shoe-making.[12] Such a list of subjects highlights the tensions evident in missionary preparation between academic and vocational elements. The inclusion of Latin, for example, which unlike New Testament Greek had no benefit to the study of scripture, sits uneasily alongside shoe-making skills on the curriculum. Scottish theologian A. E. Garvie (1861-1945) argued eloquently in 1916 for the value of studying ancient languages in missionary training: 'The missionary is not wasting time who makes himself a good Latin, Greek or Hebrew scholar', as 'this discipline will help to make him more of a master of any language in which it may be his privilege to preach the gospel of Jesus Christ'.[13] In the educational environment of the mid-nineteenth century, however, it is doubtful whether such a view underpinned the Clapham curriculum. The persistent tension between the desire for high academic standards, and the necessity of accepting the practical skills of working men seems a more persuasive explanation for the incongruity of its subjects.

Beyond the established churches the situation was different, but the men broadly the same. William Carey is remembered not only for his pioneering missionary work, but for the cobbler's trade he left behind. Similarly, in the LMS, records from 1845-1880 indicate that the typical missionary was an artisan rather

[9] Hodge, 'CMS Training College', 82.
[10] Walls, *Missionary Movement,* 204.
[11] Walls, *Missionary Movement,* 205.
[12] Hodge, 'CMS Training College,' 85.
[13] A.E. Garvie, 'The Education of Missionaries' *International Review of Missions* 5:1 (1916), 130.

than a scholar. As Thomas' investigations reveal, around twenty percent of LMS missionaries to India in this period were 'skilled working-class', including harness makers, joiners' toolmakers, and printers.[14] Stuart Piggin, who has produced the most comprehensive account to date of missionary training across evangelical denominations, finds further that the LMS valued godliness over intellect or education in its selection of missionaries.[15] This approach was more in accord with the greater weight given to calling than to learning characteristic of the Baptists, than with the more intellectually-driven Congregationalists who formed the foundation of the LMS.[16]

Scottish missionaries were, according to Piggin, more likely than others to be trained teachers. They were also generally better educated, due to differences in educational systems and requirements.[17] The Church of Scotland required ordinands to complete both a four-year university Arts degree, and four years of theological training to be awarded the Batchelor of Divinity (BD).[18] Such educational rigour was continued by the Free Church of Scotland after the Disruption of 1843, through its New College in Edinburgh.[19] Indicative of an increasing emphasis on training, and of attempts to change the place of mission within wider church institutions, Alexander Duff was elected to a new Chair of Evangelistic Theology at New College by the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland in May 1867. Duff himself had been instrumental in bringing this new position into existence, motivated by the lack of curricula content on mission in his own theological education at the University of St Andrews. In his inaugural address, he argued that 'the preservation of internal purity of doctrine, discipline, and government […] is merely burnishing [the church] so as to be a lamp to give light not to itself only, but also to the world'.[20] For him, the church should be

[14] Thomas, 'Foreign Missions', 113.
[15] Stuart Piggin, *Making Evangelical Missionaries 1789-1858: The Social Background, Motives and Training of British Protestant Missionaries to India* (The Sutton Courtenay Press, 1984), 156.
[16] Isabel Rivers and David L. Wykes, 'Protestant Dissent', The Dissenting Academies Project, accessed 3 July, 2017, http://www.qmulreligionandliterature.co.uk/research/the-dissenting-academies-project/protestant-dissent/; note that theological training through Baptist higher education academies increased in the nineteenth century, while Congregationalist academies struggled to meet the demand for trained ministers created by their growth during the evangelical revival.
[17] Walls, *Missionary Movement*, 188, 192.
[18] Piggin, *Evangelical Missionaries,* 220.
[19] Piggin, *Evangelical Missionaries,* 223-224.
[20] Alexander Duff, 'Evangelistic Theology. An Inaugural Address. Delivered in the Common Hall of the New College, Edinburgh, on Thursday, 7th November 1867' (Edinburgh: Andrew Elliot, 1868), 4.

fundamentally outward-looking and evangelistic, both in home and foreign mission contexts.

Unfortunately for Duff, the dominant view was rather that mission was peripheral to theological education. If even missionary training colleges such as Islington did not teach the skills or theology of mission, it must have been hard indeed to integrate it into mainstream theological training. Although the Protestant churches in the nineteenth century were heavily engaged in missionary work they were not, as Bernhard Ott and Mark Laing have both argued, engaged in mission theology.[21] Even Duff's approach did not really offer a full solution, as it established mission as a segregated, rather than an integrated, discipline.[22]

Missionary men, then, were trained throughout much of this period in the liberal arts, theology, and vocational skills. If they were lucky, they would have received some language training prior to departure, but often this would only occur once they arrived abroad. As to the skills of evangelism and teaching, of how to communicate their message effectively in foreign cultural, religious, and linguistic contexts, it seems too little was done to equip them. Recognition of the limitations of such an approach led to increasing focus on specialist training institutions, but ongoing inadequacies were highlighted at the Edinburgh Conference.

5.1.2 Training missionary women

All the training facilities and opportunities described thus far were available only to men. Skill and status gendered as male, such as ordained ministry, or skilled labours of carpentry and shoemaking, were deemed most valuable in early mission. As we have seen, however, in the wake of early scandals involving relationships between missionaries and local women, European women were accepted by missionary societies as necessary companions for their men.[23] These

[21] Bernhard Ott, 'Mission and Theological Education', *Transformations* 18:2 (2001), 87-98 (12-14); Mark Laing, 'Recovering Missional Ecclesiology in Theological Education', *International Review of Mission* 98:1 (2009), 87-89; see also Edmund F. Cook, 'What New or Increased Emphasis Should be Given in the Training of Missionary Candidates to Meet the New World-Situation?, *Religious Education* 14:6 (1919), 376.

[22] In Germany, Gustav Warneck held a professorial missionary chair at the University of Halle, and was heavily engaged in studying 'the science of Missions'.

[23] James Read, LMS missionary Superintendent in the South Africa, had married a Khoisan woman, but was discredited after having an extra-marital affair with a local girl in 1816; see Julia Wells, 'The Scandal of Rev James Read and the Taming of the London Missionary Society by 1820', *South African Historical Journal* 42:1 (2000), 136-160 (esp.155), doi:10.1080/02582470008671371; also Ballard, *White Men's God*, 70.

early missionary women – wives, but also sisters and daughters – often participated as auxiliary mission workers, in spite of the demands of family and domestic duties, but were primarily seen as 'helpmeets' to the men.[24] Their work received little credit independent of their supporting role, and they were unable to command missionary salaries.[25] Needless to say, neither did they receive training for their positions. In Peter Williams' assessment, the lack of foreign mission roles for single women in the first half of the nineteenth century 'reflects the reality that there were few roles, in any accredited professional sense, for them at home'.[26]

From the 1860s, the situation, abroad as at home, did begin to change. The small trickle of independent women engaged on the mission field became a growing wave, such that '[b]y 1910 single and married women formed the majority of the work-force of Protestant missions'.[27] The growth in number was not matched by an adequacy of preparation. Training, according to the assessment of Committee V of the World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh, 1910, remained 'haphazard and unsatisfactory', with women often reliant on 'privately run, and poorly resourced institutions'.[28] Whereas men already had access to ministerial, medical, and university education, opportunities were still more limited for women. Access to arts education at university began piecemeal in the 1830s and 1840s, but it took decades before degrees were conferred. In the case of the University of Glasgow, it was only on the authorisation of the Scottish Universities Commissioners in 1892 that women could graduate, with four medical students becoming the first graduates in 1894.[29] Jane Waterston (1843–1931) had pre-

[24] Macdonald, *Glorious Mission*, 105; John M. MacKenzie and Nigel R. Dalziel, *The Scots in South Africa: Ethnicity, Identity, Gender and Race, 1772-1914* (Manchester Scholarship Online, 2012), 101.
[25] Macdonald, *Glorious Mission*, 114.
[26] Peter Williams, '"The Missing Link": The Recruitment of Women Missionaries in some English Evangelical Missionary Societies in the Nineteenth Century', in *Women and Missions: Past and Present. Anthropological and Historical Perceptions*, ed. Fiona Bowie, Deborah Kirkwood and Shirley Ardener (Oxford: Berg, 1993), 44.
[27] Brian Stanley, *The World Missionary Conference, Edinburgh 1910* (Cambridge: William B. Eerdmans, 2009), 136.
[28] Stanley, *Edinburgh 1910*, 136; see also World Missionary Conference 1910, *Report of Commission V: The Training of Teachers* (Edinburgh & London: Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier, 1910), 83-89.
[29] 'Women in the University', University of Glasgow, accessed 23 February, 2017, http://www.universitystory.gla.ac.uk/women-background/; the University of London had conferred degrees as early as 1878, Durham a little later, from 1895 (divinity degrees excluded), while in Oxford and Cambridge it was the mid-twentieth century before women were allowed to graduate. See Jacqueline Bannerjee, 'The University of London and Women Students', The Victorian Web, last modified 2007, http://www.victorianweb.org/history/education/ulondon/3.html.

empted this development, as the first Scottish woman to become a fully trained doctor and enter the Medical Register between 1874 and 1879, after having worked in 1867 at the Free Church mission at Lovedale, South Africa. She had had to complete her training and registration in Dublin, as there was no means for a woman to become registered in Britain at that time.[30] Theological education was even further behind, with women only being admitted to Divinity courses at the University of Glasgow in 1909.[31] The first woman to be ordained in Scotland was one of this earliest Glasgow cohort, Olive May Winchester, who graduated in 1912 and became minister in the Pentecostal Church of Scotland the same year. In 1917, Congregationalist Constance Mary Coltman became the first woman to be ordained in England, her BD awarded at London as her Divinity education at Mansfield College, Oxford, did not enable her to graduate.[32]

Women continued to be seen in this period as different from men, in capacity, temperament, and future prospect. Distinct and separate training was therefore the norm. Women's training was typically less extensive than men's, but also more practical than theoretical.[33] In environments where 'educational method, domestic knowledge and some basic medical skills'[34] were priorities, engagement with higher-level intellectual activities of philosophy, theology, or aesthetics, were largely absent. Nevertheless, the establishment in Edinburgh of both the Church of Scotland's Deaconess House in 1887, and the Free Church of Scotland's St Colm's training college for women in 1894, is indicative of the growing numbers of independent women becoming missionaries, and the growing recognition that they must be better equipped for the task.

In a situation that reversed the trajectory of male missionary recruitment, there were, however, higher expectations of women to be of a 'refined' social status, with serious moves to recruit working class women coming only in the 1890s.[35] Williams states that the self-supporting, educated lady was perceived as ideal for missionary societies, not least for economic reasons, but there was

[30] MacKenzie and Dalziel, *Scots in South Africa*, 120.
[31] 'Women in the University'.
[32] Margaret Adolphus, 'Coltman, Constance Mary', in *A Historical Dictionary of British Women*, ed. Cathy Hartley, revised edition (London: Europa, 2003), 112.
[33] Williams, 'Missing Link', 58-59.
[34] Williams, 'Missing Link', 59.
[35] Williams, 'Missing Link', 57-59.

insufficient interest from this group to supply increasing demand.[36] So, as a higher class of men, often graduates, became more desirable towards the end of the nineteenth century, lower-class women overtook better-educated and wealthier ladies as active missionaries.

5.1.3 Image, Education, and Missionary Policies

Outlining the general state of missionary training indicates the difficulties in generalising across societies and institutions, and across the differential provisions for men and women. The evangelical religious backgrounds of missionaries did, however, by and large unite them in a suspicion of visuality that was nevertheless accompanied by increasing access to varied visual media. Even humble working class and artisan missionaries were, by the 1840s, exposed to art and image ranging from exhibitions to periodicals, prints to panoramas. The greater mix of sexes, and of social and educational backgrounds, evident at the turn of the twentieth century ensured a greater diversity of visual-cultural experience within missionary ranks. Nevertheless, increasingly systematised training procedures ensured also that prospective missionaries of whatever type were likely to encounter what Dyrness, in relation to the Reformation period, has described as a 'pedagogy of iconoclasm' that effected, or reinforced, a separation between the visual culture of British life and the word culture of mission. For Dyrness, the use of catechism (word) over images in sixteenth-century Reformation Britain to teach the young and illiterate taught more than the new religious orthodoxy: in form as well as content, it also inculcated iconoclastic views.[37] So in missionary training, where there is little to suggest that image-use occurred in deliberate or considered ways, pedagogical image-absence in itself taught that visual materials were insignificant.

This situation is affirmed by answers submitted by W.H.T. Gairdner of the CMS in Cairo in response to Edinburgh's Commission V survey, which criticise training institutions on the basis of their 'curriculum seeming not to encourage, possibly even to stifle, a taste for literature, music, art […] still less create the

[36] Williams, 'Missing Link', 58.
[37] Dyrness, *Reformed Theology,* 91.

same'.[38] Though Gairdner, in formulating this comment, evidently dissents from this, his appears to have been a lone voice. The Commission V report itself does not respond to his comments, and offers no policy or recommendation on visual images or art in missionary training, though it does, in passing, recognise the 'subordinate' importance of music as a missionary tool.[39]

Despite this lack in addressing visual art and image in Commission V, Commission III on 'Education in Relation to the Christianisation of National Life' found that teachers on the ground needed to be able to employ them in the classroom, arguing that '[a]rt also, including all expressions of ideas through drawing, painting and handicrafts, needs to be utilised'.[40] However, this call was made specifically in relation to the training and vocation of local, rather than missionary, teachers, and occupies only the briefest of paragraphs. There is no elaboration of the theoretical underpinning of such a call, or practical advice on when and how such arts should be used, or who will instruct the teachers in visual methods. Confined to peripheral mention and 'native' teachers, the sense that the visual received minimal consideration is in fact further reinforced.

Commissions III and V did agree on the need for missionaries to 'have some training in the science of teaching',[41] and that this applied not only to those undertaking formal educational roles, but to all involved in missionary work. In a subsection dedicated to a discussion of pedagogy, Commission V found that 'it needs to be pointed out with great clearness that all missionaries are educators'.[42] This is evidence not only of the varied roles that all missionaries were expected to take on (after all, even 'medical missionaries', the report states, 'are expected to hold Bible classes'), but of the inescapable intertwining of education and evangelism in the missionary mind. Given the pervasive importance given to pedagogical concerns, the 'science of teaching' as understood at the Edinburgh

[38] W.H.T. Gairdner 'Answers to the Questions of the Commission (Appendix XII)', in World Missionary Conference 1910, *Report of Commission V: The Training of Teachers* (Edinburgh & London: Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier: 1910), 275.
[39] Commission III goes further, claiming hymns as 'substitutes for the old offensive songs of the people'; in places without extensive religious iconographic traditions, it was music rather than image that required Christian substitution; World Missionary Conference 1910, *Report of Commission III: Education in Relation to the Christianisation of National Life* (Edinburgh & London: Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier: 1910), 349.
[40] World Missionary Conference, *Report of Commission III*, 319.
[41] World Missionary Conference, *Report of Commission V*, 172.
[42] 'Special Missionary Preparation, part D', World Missionary Conference, *Report of Commission V*, 172.

Conference, and positions on visual art and image within it, warrant further enquiry.

In elucidating the issue, Commission V turned to Ernest Coffin's 1908 paper entitled 'On the Education of Backward Races'.[43] Coffin (1875-1963), a North American educationalist, was based at Clark University, Worcester, at the time his article was published. Clark was then at the forefront of the emerging discipline of psychology, the still-active American Psychological Association (APA) having been founded there in 1892.[44] Coffin's own pedagogical approach was influenced by this academic environment, and by the developmental racial theories of Scottish anthropologist J.G. Frazer and sociologist Dudley Kidd. Coffin saw Western and non-Western peoples as being at different stages of psychological, as well as cultural, development, and considered the problems of missionary education in terms of a 'psychic clash' between races.[45]

Seeing all people as occupying points on a common developmental trajectory, Coffin held that all races could eventually achieve parity. In the meantime, he advocated distinct educational approaches that in effect infantilised southern and West African people, categorising them, in paternalistic and derogatory terms, as 'resembl[ing] children of our race'.[46] He immediately drew from this an explicit aesthetic implication: 'Thus they can appreciate human and animal pictures, but not landscape, and have no idea of perspective'.[47] Similarly, in assessing African perception of colour, he explicitly followed Kidd's position in claiming that 'they perceive it in the small rather than in the large, in the flower, not in the landscape'.[48] Like Western children, African people were thought to have aesthetic appreciation only for the small and the referentially specific (the human, animal, or flower), and not the large or conceptually sophisticated.

[43] World Missionary Conference, *Report of Commission V*, 173-174; Ernest Coffin, 'On The Education of Backward Races' *The Pedagogical Seminary* 15:1 (1908), 1-62.
[44] Leading names in developmental psychology such as Stanley G. Hall operated at the university in the early twentieth century; Sigmund Freud had also made his only non-European lectures on psychology at Clark in 1909.
[45] Coffin, 'Education', 22.
[46] Coffin, 'Education', 16.
[47] Coffin, 'Education', 16.
[48] Coffin, 'Education', 17.

In both examples, Coffin sets the supposed limitations of African aesthetics against the idea of landscape, which stands for him as a token of advanced aesthetic sensibility. He offers two reasons why landscape is of no interest to the African-as-child. Firstly, he claims a lack of understanding of perspective, which prevents appreciation of pictorial landscape, a position that exposes the underlying colonial assumption that the understanding of visual expressions is an innate ability of 'sophisticated' cultures, rather than a Renaissance convention that has first to be learned by the Western eye. Secondly, he claims that land itself is not seen as landscape in Africa, but as a utilitarian resource. This again reveals a culturally situated understanding, as the idea of viewing land as landscape is itself a conceptual construction (see Chapter 6). Having claimed that Africans are developmentally unequal to the task of appreciating Western aesthetics, Coffin advocates industrial-style training that incorporates 'native' or 'primitive' crafts better suited to their 'backward' position.[49]

The developmental understanding of race found in Coffin, Frazer, and Kidd, and its impact on pedagogical theory, was not the only option available to delegates of the Edinburgh Conference. An alternative approach was gaining ground through the work of Mary Kingsley in West Africa. Kingsley held that the world's races were not on a common scale of development, but were separate species of distinct origin. A problematic, and ultimately still racist, position, this nevertheless led to a belief that education should build up existing society and culture, perfecting it on its own terms, and not imposing the forms of 'higher civilisation' upon it. While both Coffin and Kingsley advocated the development of 'native' arts and crafts, Coffin's rationale was that this catered for an inherent inferiority or backwards, while for Kingsley these were legitimate and valuable in their own right, and therefore worthy of interest. By adopting Coffin's approach, Edinburgh 1910 steered world mission towards an educational theory that was dismissive of African aesthetics, but promoted 'inferior' local arts as those appropriate for a second-class education.

Competing with this stance, and with the end-points of both Coffin and Kingsley's pedagogical opinions, a third contemporary view held that the arts are morally uplifting, and therefore necessary for improving the character of less

[49] Coffin, 'Education', 27.

'advanced' or 'refined' people, whether the European poor or the foreign heathen. This latter approach saw art as a tool of edification and social improvement of broader reach than formal education, as seen in the discussion of public art in Chapter 3. Ruskin, who wrote extensively and influentially on the essential connections of art, beauty, and justice, argued also for the moral and practical efficacy of art in that 'first and most important kind of public building', the school.[50] In his 1857 *A Joy Forever*, Ruskin argued that pictures should not be confined to 'some vile woodcut, in the middle of a dictionary page', and nor should they be absent from classroom walls. The student, he wrote, 'will feel more capable of certain efforts of mind with beautiful and refined forms about him than with ugly ones'.[51] Furthermore, Ruskin predicted, the eye would eventually be recognised as the primary organ of learning, rather than the ear.[52] David Brewster, commenting on educational practice in Britain in the same period, agreed:

> the existing system is utterly inefficient. The teacher, however wisely chosen and well qualified, has not at his command the means of imparting knowledge. He may pour it in by the ear, or extract it from the printed page, or exhibit it in caricature in the miserable embellishments of the school-book, but *unless he teaches through the eye*, the great instrument of knowledge, by means of truthful pictures, or instruments, or models, or by the direct exhibition of the products of nature and of art, which can be submitted to the scrutiny of the senses, no satisfactory instruction can be conveyed.[53]

Relating this directly to missionary education, Brewster went on to suggest that the foundation of education for the unlettered is to be found not in books, but in the acquisition of 'a general knowledge of the works of God and of man […] of the miracles of nature and of art'. It is not enough to be able to read or recite the Bible: visual knowledge of the material (and by implication, the spiritual) world is foundational in education, and in life.[54]

In the education of home audiences on the work of its missions, missionary societies seem to have concurred in such an assessment, in practice if not

[50] John Ruskin, *A Joy For Ever* (London: George Allen, 1911), 104.
[51] Ruskin, *Joy For Ever*, 107; see also Francis X. Roellinger Jr., 'Ruskin on Education', *The Journal of General Education* 5:1 (1950), 40.
[52] Ruskin, *Joy For Ever*, 106.
[53] David Brewster, *The Stereoscope: Its History, Theory, and Construction with its Application to the Fine and Useful Arts and to Education* (London: John Murray, 1856), 195, italics added.
[54] David Brewster, *The Stereoscope*, 193.

explicitly in policy. As in other areas of Victorian life, images proliferated: missionary periodicals, as discussed in Chapter 3, were often illustrated; magic lantern shows toured the country showing pictures of foreign missions; postcards, maps, and posters were produced for publicity. The consideration given to image production, however, did not necessarily match the output. In the case of the LMS, visual materials fell under the remit of its Literature Committee, which itself indicates the subordinate positioning of image. Pictures were viewed as subsidiary to text, as adjuncts to literature rather than as material worthy of independent consideration.

While the Literature Committee gave maps and portraits occasional consideration in its meetings, other illustrations were typically left to editorial discretion. At a meeting in 1885, it recommended 'the Editor to be free to provide illustrations for the Juvenile Magazine as he thinks best, on the understanding that the cost is not to exceed what has been expended during the present year'.[55] This is indicative of a lack of engagement with image and illustration as an aspect of missionary literature, which pervades the Committee records. Where illustration is mentioned, as here, it is passed to editorial discretion with dismissive brevity. In relation to image, the Committee, despite its title, was in fact more concerned with extra-literary pictures such as commemorative postcards, than with in-text images or illustrations.

There is little evidence, from training establishments or missionary societies, that art and image were engaged in any serious or systematic way in missionary education for women or men, and they receive scant attention in society or ecumenical policies. Pedagogical and social attitudes towards the place of art and image implicitly informed their approaches, but did not seem to give rise to explicit policies on their appropriate use. Nevertheless, as the next section demonstrates, there is evidence of visual materials having a place, if not a clearly defined role, in missionary society training.

[55] Reports of the Literature Committee, LMS, September 23rd 1885; at the same meeting, a change was made from white to tinted paper for the Juvenile Magazine. As no reason was specified, it is unclear whether this was prompted by aesthetic or other considerations.

5.1.4 *The Angelus* and the Madonna: Pictures at St Colm's

The archives of St Colm's Missionary Training Institute, Edinburgh, now housed at the National Library of Scotland, are a rich and useful resource, offering insights into the practical workings of missionary training at the turn of the twentieth century. Among the Institute's papers, a photograph album dated 1864-1910 contains some interesting details. Several of the prints were taken within the Institute buildings, and incidentally record the pictures framed on the walls there. Counterintuitively, the two most instantly recognisable images are both of Roman Catholic origin.

Jean François Millet's *The Angelus* (1857-59) appears in three of the photographs: once in the Institute's drawing room c. 1901, then twice in the vice-principle, Miss Hammer's, own room in 1903. Millet (1814-1875) was a French Catholic peasant, famous for his rural genre paintings, which were seen to idealise the rural poor. *The Angelus* depicts a man and a woman in a field, the tools of their labour set aside that they might observe the evening *Angelus* prayer. Heads bowed, they appear humble and pious. In the background, the church from which the Angelus bell is presumably ringing can be seen.

Despite its origin and content being rooted in Catholic France, Millet's 'most religious picture' became hugely popular amongst British Protestants, evidenced by its inclusion in both Burns' *Sermons in Art* and Letts' *Hundred*.[56] Burns' 1908 commentary indicates the appeal of the image to the religious imagination of the time, expressing as he saw it 'the poetry of the soil' in response to the 'cry of the earth' and its labourers.[57] Nature itself was the source of many religious motifs, reflected in literature and visual art. Burns also discusses at length the 'consecration of common toil' through *The Angelus*.[58] The 'primitive' peasant people are ennobled by their humble piety, and their simple faith.[59] Their work is blessed by the unification of prayer with labour:

[56] Burns, *Sermons in Art*, 19.
[57] Burns, *Sermons in Art*, 22-23; Millet himself used the phrase ("le cri de la terre"), Alexandra R. Murphy et al.,
Jean-François Millet: Drawn into the Light (Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, 1999), 10.
[58] Burns, *Sermons in Art*, 35.
[59] Burns, *Sermons in Art*, 32-33.

> The great message of the picture is thus after all a message in practical religion. 'Let work in your life be wedded with prayer […] No work is so common that it cannot be elevated by prayer, no prayer is so exalted that it cannot be enriched by work'.[60]

Such a message chimes with the ethos of women's missionary training: labour qualified by rest, and piety enabling missionary efficacy. Annie Small, Principal of St Colm's at the time of the Edinburgh Conference, reported to Commission V that, due to their recognised constitutional weakness in comparison to men, trainee women should 'submit to habit of rest and recreation' as an integral part of their preparation.[61]

Adjacent to *The Angelus* on the wall of Miss Hammer's room in 1903 hung another print: a Madonna and Child. This is a reproduction of perhaps Raphael's *Madonna di Foligno*, or of a derivative version by the seventeenth-century Italian painter Sassoferrato. Raphael's depiction is oriented the same way as the image on Miss Hammer's wall, with Christ on the Virgin's left, whereas Sassoferrato – presumably working from an inverted engraving of the Raphael – has Christ on her right. Being a reproduction itself, however, the St Colm's image could be an inversion of Sassoferrato. Raphael's *Madonna* has, beneath the cloud-seated holy mother and child, John the Baptist, Francis of Assisi and St Jerome, accompanied by the painting's patron Sigismondo de' Conti kneeling in an attitude of prayer. These figures are omitted from the St Colm's print, as from the Sassoferrato.

Whatever the provenance or heritage of the particular print, the fact of such an image's appearance within a Presbyterian missionary institution requires explanation. While the Catholic symbolism of cherubim (putti) and saints are absent, the image that remains is still a quintessentially Roman one. In rejecting Catholicism, Protestantism had turned its back on Mary, fearing that her cultic status undermined the supremacy of the godhead, and critical of the lack of scriptural basis for her elevation. Both the subject and its High Renaissance style could therefore be seen as inappropriate for an evangelical Protestant at the turn of the twentieth century. We might expect to find a reproduction of Hunt's *The Light of the World*, embodying both Pre-Raphaelite naturalism and Protestant

[60] Burns, *Sermons in Art*, 37.
[61] A.H. Small, 'The Women's Missionary College, Edinburgh', in *Report of Commission V*, World Missionary Conference (Edinburgh & London: Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier, 1910), 252.

reinterpretation of scripture, and widely distributed in print form, but a Renaissance Madonna is more surprising.

Despite the passing of the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829, Roman Catholics in Britain were the subject of polemical attacks in the middle of the century. In 1850, fuelled by concern over the influx of Irish Catholics fleeing famine, and anger at the re-establishment of the Catholic apostolic hierarchy in England and Wales, this turned to outbreaks of anti-Catholic violence.[62] The rise of Tractarianism in the 1840s brought further fears of an Anglican shift towards Rome, particularly when prominent figures such as John Henry Newman converted to Catholicism.[63] Evangelical literature such as *The Sunday at Home,* as well as secular publications such as *Punch,* routinely contained anti-Papal messages.

It might be conjectured that a spiritually powerful, yet maternal, woman was a radical and conscious choice for a newly-established women's missionary training institute. With the relegation of Mary by the Reformers, along with the lesser saints, women were denied substantial role models in religious life. The demise of convents also removed contemporary female religious figures from women's lives, where prior to the Reformation nuns and other divines had been in positions of spiritual authority and learning, and could be revered for their own religious visions and insights. In the very different world of the late nineteenth-century, women were increasingly empowered to participate in public religious roles, not least as independent missionary agents. This led women into conflict at times with their male counterparts, as was the case with Jane Waterston at both Livingstonia and Lovedale,[64] in preparation for which possibility, strong female models could have played an important part.

A more prosaic apology for the St Colm's Madonna could be a lack of literacy in the language of Christian visual art. Given, as we have seen, the lack of engagement with the traditions of Christian art, its motifs and associations, Miss Hammer and her colleagues might very well simply not have thought about the connection of the picture with Catholic doctrine. With similar images promoted in

[62] Frances Knight, *The Church in the Nineteenth Century* (London: IB Tauris, 2008), 20.
[63] Newman converted in 1845.
[64] Macdonald, *Glorious Mission*, 125ff; Mackenzie and Dalzell, *Scots in South Africa*, 120. Waterston eventually abandoned formal missionary work altogether, and set up a successful medical practice in Cape Town.

the likes of Letts' *Hundred* at around the same time, the Madonna was perhaps an item of pious décor more than a statement of doctrinal or denominational commitment.

There are ample examples of the adoption of Catholic iconography by Protestants, including in the context of mission, that suggest this to be a more plausible explanation for the St Colm's Madonna. Sacred heart imagery, for instance, is prevalent amongst Protestants in Africa; as Birgit Meyer's research into popular Christianity in Ghana found, it is seen on everything from mass-produced posters and calendars, to painted on the sides of cars and boats.[65] In Malawi in 2016, I found that large sacred heart posters adorned each end of the CCAP church interior in Mzuzu. Another instance of this image-adoption is the *Heart of Man*, or *Little Book of the Heart*, a booklet employing Catholic imagery for Protestant evangelism. First published by Johannes Gossamer in 1812, it has since been translated and distributed in many cultural contexts, including Somalia,[66] Brazil,[67] and South Africa, and is still published, translated, and promoted as a mission tool by organisations such as the Pretoria-based All Nations Gospel Publishers.[68]

In addition to the visual evidence of St Colm's photographs, textual evidence in the archive indicates the presence of further incidental art in the college. A booklet entitled *Tour of St Colm's*, dating from around 1960, describes a number of pictures present in the College building since its early years. Portraits in the library and other rooms included 'pioneers of Home and Foreign Missions' Dr Chalmers, Alexander Duff, and William Laws, and the College's first principal, Annie Small.[69] In the dining room hung illustrations of the *Pilgrim's Progress* drawn in 1907 by a student, Gertrude Briggs, for the District Kitchen Meeting. In its original form as a roll that was progressively revealed at successive meeting, it is claimed that this 'proved a great help to the women in making Christian's journey

[65] Meyer, '"There Is a Spirit in that Image"', 114-116.
[66] B.W. Andrzejewski, 'Biblical Translations and Other Christian Writings in Somali: A Survey' AAP *21* (1990), 115.
[67] Helmut Renders, 'The Wesleyan Religio Pectorum in Relation to Brazilian "Cordial" Religion: Between Adaptation and Enculturation', *Methodist Review* 8 (2016), 1–42.
[68] See Morgan, *Forge,* 61.
[69] *Tour of St Colm's,* St Colm's Archive, National Library of Scotland; N.D. but 1960 or after, 5.

more real to them'.[70] The subsequent placement of the images on the walls of the College suggests a continued value to the students in explicating Bunyan's narrative, and perhaps foreshadowing their own future missionary journeys. In addition to these, a work described only as 'the picture of the sheep' was said to have been presented as a gift from delegates to the World Missionary Conference in 1910, who had stayed in the house.[71]

A further way in which contemporary artistic influences were incorporated into the life of St Colm's was through occassional art excursions. Student Annie B.W. Summerville's entry in the college journal for October 29th – Nov 5th 1898 records:

> Though it cannot be said to come exactly within the scope of Journal of the Institute, yet it seems not amiss to mention the fact of Munkacsy's famous picture 'Ecce Homo' having been on view at the Albert Halls, for almost all the students took the opportunity of seeing that wonderful masterpiece. We were impressed with the realism of the crowd (one could imagine one heard the shouts and jeers from the evil-looking faces) but at the same time we were disappointed with the central figure – the face of Christ not being strong enough to realize our conception of Him.[72]

This recording of the visit is prefaced by an apology that it is not really appropriate content for the Institute's journal. It is an aside, peripheral to the activities of the college. What the inclusion of this extra-curricular excursion does tell us is that it was a notable event, and evidently one enjoyed by the students, the majority of whom elected to go. The very fact that viewing a visiting work of art was such an event in the lives of missionary trainees suggests that it was unusual, but the desire of the women to see the artwork, and their ability to reflect on it, indicates that visual expressions were familiar and attractive to them, while the categorical separation of art from the work of mission indicates the 'pedagogical iconoclasm' inherent in their training.

[70] *Tour of St Colm's*, 3.

[71] The works of Scottish symbolist painter John Duncan (1866-1945) later also found a place at St Colm's. An exhibition of his work was held there in 1914, following which Duncan is said to have lent a picture of 'Christ by the Sea of Galilee' to the College. A watercolour cartoon for his oil painting 'St Bride of the Isles' was gifted by a Miss Warrack in 1916, particularly as there was a strong connection between the college and the Iona community.

[72] St Colm's College Journal 1898-1903, St Colm's Archive 13301/43, National Library of Scotland, 17.

The painting itself, *Ecce Homo!* (1896; figure 16), by Hungarian artist Mihály Munkácsy (1844-1900), was the final work of a biblical trilogy, preceded by *Christ in front of Pilate* (1882) and *Golgotha* (1884). The students of St Colm's would have viewed it on its tour of European and US cities, as did James Joyce (1882-1841) in Ireland in 1899. Joyce, himself a student at University College Dublin at the time, wrote an essay, 'Royal Hibernian Academy "Ecce Homo"', on the painting.[73] Joyce agreed with Summerville and her companions that the realism of the picture was striking. He was more complimentary about Munkácsy's portrayal of the face of Christ, though perhaps for the same reason that Summerville was disappointed: that is, for its lack of divinity.[74] Certainly, however, the physiognomy of the figures was significant in the painting's interpretation. The 'evil-looking faces' of the crowd were applauded as reflecting their moral turpitude, while the lines of the face of Christ were considered too weak to reflect adequately the heroism of the saviour.

An even more direct aesthetic influence at St Colm's can be found in the Edinburgh-based artist William Hole (1846-1917). Hole, a prominent painter and illustrator in his time, most remembered for his murals in the National Gallery of Scotland and St James' Episcopal Church in Inverleith, designed a chapel window for St Colm's new premises at 23 Inverleith Terrace, whilst living nearby on Inverleith Row.[75] The window design, commissioned by principal Annie Small in memory of her missionary father, was of Christ the Light of the World (figure 15):

> the image depicts the Risen Christ crowned with thorns and laurel. Along the rocky path are featured a rose, a thistle and a shamrock to represent the nationalities of the first students. The mountains of Africa and the temples of Asia represent the world to which the Gospel must be preached.[76]

The window is now noted in the listed building record for the college.[77]

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[73] A. Nicholas Fargnoli and Michael Patrick Gillespie, *Critical Companion to James Joyce: A Literary Reference to His Life and Work* (New York: Infobase, 2006), 42.
[74] Andrew Gibson, 'Thinking Forwards, Turning Back: Joyce's Writing 1898-1903', in *James Joyce in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. John Nash (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 69.
[75] '23 Inverleith Terrace, St Colm's College Including Boundary Walls and Cast Iron Railing Panels', Historic Environment Scotland, accesed 10 May 2017, http://portal.historicenvironment.scot/designation/LB51308; the Holes moved to the street in 1893, *Memories of William Hole,* 80.
[76] Fiona Anderson, '"Our College Chapel" by Annie Small, March 1935', St Colm's Archive Blog, 16 July 2007, http://stcolmsarchive.blogspot.co.uk/2008/07/notes-of-talk-given-by-miss-annie-small.html.
[77] '23 Inverleith Terrace'.

The presence of Hole's window design extended beyond its location in the chapel at Inverleith Terrace. His cartoon version was circulated in reproduction by the College, and by the Challenge Book Society in London to whom the woodblocks were loaned by Miss Small.[78] Several copies can be found in the archive at the National Library of Scotland, some produced as postcards. An undated postcard from a black and white photograph of the window in situ in the chapel is also in the collection.

Hole himself had previous connections with missionary students in Edinburgh, the Dundee Courier in 1904 reporting that

> Mr William Hole, R.S.A., addressing the art students of the Volunteer Missionary Conference in Edinburgh yesterday afternoon, discussed the influence of art in religious teaching, and submitted that as much should be done for the house of God in the way of decoration as was done for the home, public-house, the theatre, and the music hall. Ordered and harmonious colour should be added to graceful structure to complete the round of artistic unity.[79]

Such an approach was evidently applied in the case of St Colm's, which, while not the 'house of God', was a site of 'religious teaching'. Other commissions in the buildings of theological education included 'altar-pieces […] for the Episcopal Training College, Edinburgh; and for the chapel of the Theological College'.[80]

During the same period, Hole published an illustrated *Life of Christ*, the result of what he himself termed a 'pilgrimage' to Palestine.[81] The eighty completed originals were exhibited in London in 1906, and the book published the same year.[82] The book itself was deliberately made to be affordable, at the expense of the highest-quality reproduction, to ensure a wider circulation:

> The last thing he wished for it was that it should lie on drawing-room tables for the delectation of the wealthy. He wanted it to go far and wide into the homes of the people, to missionaries abroad, to

[78] Date of the loan uncertain; Miss Hammer recalled in 1931 that the transaction was made 'by Miss Small when she was in London some years ago', Miss Hammer to Miss Barton, 3 October 1931, St Colm's Archive 13301, National Library of Scotland.
[79] 'Students' Missionary Conference', *Dundee Courier*, 6 January, 1904, 4, https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0000164/19040106/047/0004; brought to my attention from the research of Rosemary Cauley, University of Glasgow, along with information on the St Colm's window.
[80] Elizabeth Hole, *Memories of William Hole, R.S.A. by his Wife* (London: W & R Chambers, 1920), 89.
[81] From the text of Hole's public lecture on his travels, quoted in *Memories of William Hole*, 122.
[82] Hole, *Memories,* 130-131.

> sisterhoods and mission-schools, and if this were to be, it must be at a price that was not prohibitive.[83]

If the presence of several copies at St Colm's can be taken as representative, it seems he was successful in his aim.[84] The pictures were also made into lantern slides. Hole is known to have presented the slides himself, in his own words, in 'mission-church or mission-hall', but the extant accompanying lecture text written by the Archdeacon of London, William Sinclair, indicates that it also had a circulation independent of Hole.[85]

Hole exploited his artistic and mission-focused skills even in the context of Sunday school teaching. Elizabeth Hole recounts that, during a difficult lesson, he requested chalk and blackboard, and '[i]t was smooth sailing after that. Willie rapidly drew pictures from the New Testament, and made the children guess what they were, and then in broad Scots told them the story, and all it meant to them.'[86] Employing both arresting visual images and language accessible to his audience, Hole found an effective educational approach; he was an unusual, and thus notable, bridge between the worlds of art and missionary education.

5.2 Practice

5.2.1 Formal institutions and art education

It is evident from the foregoing that while image and art were not widely taken seriously as subjects or tools of study for missionaries, they were not entirely absent from missionary preparation. An assessment of the presence and role of visual art and image in the provision of education by missionaries will, in turn, indicate how the visual context of that training translated into practice.

A school of art was established in Kerala, India, as early as 1862.[87] That nothing equivalent can be seen in southern, central, or eastern Africa in the same period can be attributed in part to the distinction made between eastern civilisations, and the supposedly less culturally advanced African peoples. Where

[83] Hole, *Memories*, 131.
[84] Copies are noted to be found in the cupboard of the Cairns Room in *Tour of St Colm's*, 5.
[85] Hole, *Memories*, 132; Sinclair also wrote the preface for the 1906 book.
[86] Hole, *Memories*, 81-82.
[87] Grace George, 'Missionary activity and the Syrian Christians in Kerala' in *Educational Policy and the Mission School: Case Studies from the British Empire*, ed. Brian Holmes (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1967), 141.

Coffin labels India 'a highly organised primitive society', regarding Africa he questions 'if there is anything indigenous that is not wholly vile, and if the educator's first task is not to create a *tabula rasa*' on which to draw an entirely new programme of education. The orality of many African societies was compared unfavourably with the ancient written traditions of Asia, and was thought to indicate a greater primitivism of intellect and culture. It is therefore unsurprising that it was not until the mid-twentieth century that missionaries established art institutions in the region, and that even then it was Roman Catholics who led the way: Fr. Kevin Carroll among Yoruba carvers in Nigeria in the 1940s and 1950s; the Serima Mission in Zimbabwe, founded in 1948 under the direction of Fr. John Groeber to develop Christian Shona art; and Fr. Claude Boucher's work with artists in Malawi through the 1960s and 1970s, culminating in the establishment of the KuNgoni Art Craft Centre in 1976.[88] The persistent Protestant suspicion that European art threatened the purity and primacy of the scriptural word, and that indigenous arts are fundamentally anti-Christian meant that, by the end of our primary period of study in 1910, serious Protestant art promotion was still many decades off.

In South Africa, art training and exhibition were in existence in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, but aimed at the white population. Several art schools were opened in the 1880s, Cape Town in 1880, Grahamstown in 1881, and Port Elizabeth in 1882,[89] but '[u]ntil as late as the 1930s, there were still very few art schools, illustrated art publications were rare, and commercial art galleries and exhibitions were few and infrequent'.[90] Holman Hunt's *The Light of the World*, which appeared in South Africa in 1907 on its tour of the British Empire, received a mixed reception. Displayed for the most part in town halls, it was criticised both for a lack of artistic brilliance, and for its poor presentation in terms of placement and lighting. Nevertheless, postcards and prints of the painting were sold widely during the tour, becoming common features in white

[88] Hackett, *Art and Religion in Africa*, 196; Ott, *African Theology*, 89-94.
[89] Philippa Hobbs and Elizabeth Rankin, *Printmaking in a Transforming South Africa* (Cape Town & Johannesburg: David Philip: 1997), 8.
[90] Alexander E. Durrey, 'Art History in South Africa: Past and Present' in *Memory and Oblivion: Proceedings of the XXIXth International Congress of the History of Art*, ed. W. Reinink and J. Stumpel (Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1999), 111.

South African homes.[91] A more enthusiastic reception was also given in Johannesburg, where Hunt's canvas was hung behind the altar in the Anglican St Mary's church. Here, it was as a religious, devotional image that *The Light of the World* was revered, the church wardens even claiming that it had 'been a real mission to the city of Johannesburg'.[92]

Hunt's touring painting, and the galleries, exhibitions, and art schools of South Africa's cities, were, however, preserves of the white population. Indeed, part of Hunt's insistence that *The Light of the World* go to South Africa was to be as a British emissary to the Dutch Afrikaners in the wake of the Anglo-Boer wars.[93] For black South Africans in missionary or colonial education, access to Western art, in terms of viewing artworks and learning artistic techniques, was limited by and mediated through their teachers. An examination of missionary education curricula from the Lovedale Institution in the 1890s-1900s, held at Rhodes University, shows the seemingly marginal and functional nature of artistic skills taught to its pupils.

Lovedale Institution was opened in 1841 and, aside from disruption caused by wars in the 1840s and 1850s, continued its task of primarily industrial, or technical, education throughout the period under investigation.[94] Records in the 'Roll of Classes' for Lovedale between 1894 and 1904 list the subjects included on the syllabus for each class, applied to every academic session. Elementary education (or School Department) was conducted in Standards I-VII. If a pass was achieved in standard VI, a student could take an entrance exam for the Normal Department, a 3-year course in preparation for the Third Class Teacher's Certificate. Holders of this Certificate, or those who had passed Standard VII, could apply to the College Department, for either stand-alone secondary education, or preparation for a University of Cape Town course. Acting-teachers holding the Third Class Teacher's Certificate, and who had matriculated at University, could enter the Teachers Department with a view to being examined

[91] Jeremy Maas, *Holman Hunt & The Light of the World* (Aldershot: Wildwood House, 1984), 198.
[92] Letter from the wardens of St Mary's to Charles Booth, quoted in Maas, *Light of the World*, 201.
[93] Maas, *Light of the World,* 191-192.
[94] This was a period of violent conflict between settler and indigenous populations, most notably the 1846-1849 War of the Axe; the 1850-1853 War of Mlanjeni; and the Cattle Killings of 1856-1857.

for the Second Class Teacher's Certificate.[95] Classes for the Girls' School are listed on the Roll separately.

Across the decade of these records, the place and substance of art was not static, but drawing was consistently included in the curriculum. It was, however, most often focused not on art as such but employed as an auxiliary tool. So in the School Department, map drawing was the major artistic endeavour listed.[96] Freehand and model drawing does appear in Normal and Girls' School subjects up to 1896, model drawing not appearing after that time. Unspecified 'drawing' is listed on several occasions alongside other art or craft activities, such as woodwork,[97] singing,[98] or handiwork.[99] In teachers' education, these tasks were supplemented by 'blackboard management', within which blackboard drawing was a central element. Students, however, were not examined in drawing. Although this indicates that drawing at Lovedale was seen as a tool to aid the learning of other subjects, rather than an artistic venture in its own right, this does not necessarily diminish its value. Curtis has shown that Victorian attitudes to line and map drawing were not only focused on their technical, and therefore ultimately economic, value, but also saw them as 'an aid to developing the poetical and imaginative eye of the child'.[100] Similarly, Ruskin held that drawing enables 'quicker perceptions of the beauty of the natural world', and 'records […] such things as cannot be described in words'.[101] He also advocated for the copying of maps as a preliminary technique for children in order to teach them how to form pure lines, which would make more advanced drawing and 'alphabetic illumination' easier to undertake.[102] Drawing was, in other words, an education in how to see, and even basic geography tasks could be understood as enabling the development of that vision.

Thus, despite overt creativity and artistry seeming not to have been encouraged at Lovedale, the presence of freehand, model, and map drawing,

[95] Calendar of the Lovedale Institution 1907-1910, Lovedale Collection 276.875, Cory Library, Rhodes University.
[96] For example, Second Session, 1894: Standards III-VI, and Second Session 1895: School Department Standards IV & V; Girls' School Standards IV & V all include map drawing within the subject of geography.
[97] First Session 1901: Normal Course 3rd Year.
[98] Second Session, 1904: Standard V.
[99] Second Session 1897: Normal Course 3rd Year.
[100] Curtis, *Visual Words*, 18.
[101] Ruskin, *The Elements of Drawing & The Elements of Perspective* (London: J.M. Dent, 1907), 1.
[102] Curtis, *Visual Words*, 19.

allied with occasional textual associations with other creative arts such as music, suggests that a certain level of belief in the importance of visual expression and learning underlay elements of pedagogical practice.

5.2.2 Visual aids in the margins

While the Lovedale Rolls are useful indicators of the perception of the place of drawing in this educational setting, they tell us next to nothing about the reality of pictures encountered by pupils in the wider school context there, or at similar institutions. Direct reference to, and expressions of attitudes towards, pictures in missionary pedagogy can be found, but are not systematic or widespread. This being the case, evidence from outwith the key southern African region can also be informative, particularly where it is derived from similar Scottish missionary sources. Referring to mission schooling in Nigeria, William H. Taylor comments that '[f]or both Scottish pupils and Nigerian pupils in Scots' missionary schools, schooling was predominantly something to be endured rather than enjoyed, and there was little time for perceived frivolities such as art, physical education or music'.[103] Writing about the work of Hope Masterton Waddell (1804-1895), who had arrived as a missionary of the Scottish Presbyterian church in 1846, Taylor goes on to note that '[a]part from an alphabet chart and an occasional picture sent from Scotland, school classroom walls were bare and chalkboards were rare. The magic-lantern was regarded as being too frivolous for use during the school day, but it attracted large crowds of all ages into the classrooms in the dark evenings' for entertainment. In summary, Taylor concludes that '[v]isual aids […] were undervalued by Waddell's band of schoolteachers'.[104]

In part this seems to be due to the peculiarities of the political situation in East Nigeria between missionary and local leaders. Local people were reluctant to delegate all areas of education to foreigners, understandably wishing to retain important elements of their existing educational structures within the community. Thus 'domestic subjects, basic technology, physical recreation and the arts in particular were virtually taboo areas of the curriculum'.[105] Missionary opinion that

[103] William H. Taylor, *Mission to Educate: A History of the Educational Work of the Scottish Presbyterian Mission in East Nigeria, 1846-1960* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 19.
[104] Taylor, *Mission to Educate,* 84.
[105] Taylor, *Mission to Educate,* 81.

it is beneficial to learning to impose bare walls could also have contributed. Such a view was attacked by Ruskin in *A Joy For Ever*:

> I would ask you to consider very carefully whether we may not wisely introduce some great changes in the way of school decoration. Hitherto […] we have considered that cheap furniture and bare walls are a proper part of the means of education; and supposed that boys learned best when they […] had nothing but blank plaster about and above them whereupon to employ their spare attention.[106]

The more practical difficulties of obtaining visual materials was perhaps a greater issue, reliant as the missionaries were on 'the occasional picture sent from Scotland'. In mid-century, this was a problem for much of African mission. As trade links were developed with increasing colonial expansion in later decades, it became easier to source items desired by missionaries, or that home supporters desired to send them (which were not always the same thing).

A final factor affecting the decoration of these Nigerian classrooms was the multi-purpose nature of the rooms themselves. Taylor draws attention to an account from the United Presbyterians' *Missionary Record* in 1889 stating that while 'the schoolrooms [were] echoing one evening to the resolutions passed by the local branch of the Temperance Society, on the next they would be filled with the enthusiastic audience being treated to a magic lantern on the Scripture or the stately homes of England'.[107] From schoolroom, to Temperance meeting room, to entertainment venue, a single space had to accommodate a variety of potentially conflicting uses. These contextual changes within the space would affect the interpretation of any images displayed there. John Harvey has argued that the 'situational conditions' surrounding an image become part of its interpreted meaning: the literal frame, the arrangement in relation to other images, the nature of the space, surrounding light, sound, and architecture, form a figurative '"frame" of reference'.[108] In Taylor's East Nigerian schoolroom, the space itself is ambiguous and shifting. Any image displayed there would shift too. To borrow Harvey's terminology, while a picture's 'intrinsic composition', its internal elements, would be unchanged, its 'extrinsic composition', made up of its

[106] Ruskin, *Joy For Ever*, 104.
[107] Taylor, *Mission to Educate,*109
[108] John Harvey, 'Framing the Word', in *Bible, Art, Gallery*, ed. Martin O'Kane (Sheffield: Phoenix Press, 2011), 45.

surroundings, would alter with the functional usage of the room.[109] This was the case with the magic lantern pictures, that were deemed too frivolous for the space-as-schoolroom, but were re-interpreted as quite appropriate in the space-as-theatre.

It was common to many missions that buildings had to be used for multiple purposes, with schools often doubling as churches. Decisions on the inclusion or exclusion of pictures may not have posed much of a problem, however, as multi-use spaces were prevalent in less established missions, where resources in general were scarcer. Pictures would therefore have been rare, non-essential items, added on after the settling of a mission as an optional extra, and not a subject of dispute. The lack of archival evidence of debate on the matter suggests this to be the case.

When considering the two case-study areas of South Africa and Malawi, it is important to distinguish them from other regions, particularly in Asia and the South Pacific. The existing visual cultures of religions in the latter areas, and also in other parts of Africa, included obvious iconographic traditions that could be physically and ideologically challenged by Western Christian iconicity/iconophobia. So Otaheite King Pomare's rejection of former 'idols' on conversion to Christianity was held as an exemplar of missionary success, and the religious objects appropriated as trophies. In Malawi and South Africa, British missionaries encountered an absence of religious imagery that meant that neither alternative iconography nor alternative iconic absence was seen as a pressing necessity. Decisions about image could therefore be less considered here, as there was potentially less at stake.

Illustrated literature, prevalent and influential at home, was present to a limited extent in these mission contexts. At Lovedale, an Institution Library was established 1868, at which time new books included Darwin's *Origin of Species*, a selection of Ruskin's works, and numerous volumes of travel writing relating to Africa. Without records of the use of this facility, it is impossible to gauge the impact of such works, their ideas and their illustrations, on indigenous or European

[109] Harvey, 'Framing the Word', 50.

students; further study on the use and influence of missionary library facilities would be a potentially fruitful area of research.

Visual evidence in the Lovedale papers, though sparse, is more instructive. Figure 17 shows a girls' class holding up two biblical illustrations on large posters. The image appears in a hand-captioned photograph album, which does not state the class type or level, and could therefore be either a bible or academic class.[110] The posters are large-scale, so clearly intended for public or group display. Description of whether such posters were kept on display on classroom walls, or held up only when relevant for specific lessons, would be instructive, but have not been forthcoming in the archives. That someone, whether the teacher, the photographer, or the Principal, deemed it appropriate to compose this photograph with the pictures on display is perhaps explained by the grouping of other students with items representative of the activity of their class or group. As the band is shown with their instruments, and school boys with their books, it is possible that the scriptural posters identify this as a bible class.[111]

The left-hand poster (figure 17a) is clearly a crucifixion scene; the subject of the right-hand poster (figure 17b) is less obvious. It is possibly Mary Magdalene encountering the risen Christ, though the setting is not clearly a garden, and nor is the presence of a tomb entrance certain. It could be the woman with the flow of blood who touched Jesus' garment (Luke 8:43-48), though the absence of a crowd makes this equally uncertain. Whatever the biblical reference, as a subject within girls' education, it presents an ambiguous message. Positively, it visualises a direct relationship between a woman and Christ, face-to-face and unmediated. Negatively, it presents a racial and gendered message: woman is a kneeling supplicant before a man, and it is a white woman who is shown speaking with a white Christ.

Another visual aid of note is a 'Royal Scroll', found at the DRC archive in Stellenbosch. Invented by American publisher Levi Walter Yaggy, this was a

[110] The caption itself states only the teacher's name: Miss Coombs. She joined Lovedale in 1895, and served for 37 years in various capacities, as secretary, teacher and, from 1914-1921, as Lady Superintendent, before retiring in 1932.
[111] Lovedale Collection PIC 1323, Cory Library. Rhodes University. These are dated c. 1891, but appear to be a little later as in a family portrait of Dr A W & Mrs Roberts and their children, Stanley, born 1890, is more than a year old.

striking and popular visual product that gained a global audience.[112] Although no record of how this particular example was used has yet been found in the archive, its location with other missionary materials is suggestive of its use either in the DRC's South African or foreign missions. In a study of early moving media, Erkki Huhtamo identifies the Scroll as a tool associated with missionary work, finding evidence, for example, of North American college students selling them door to door as evangelistic tools.[113]

Huhtamo describes the scroll as a display of 'seductive, colorful images' designed for individual religious study.[114] It consists of a neat carrying case containing a scrolling mechanism that, by the turning of a handle, displays scriptural images in succession. Large New Testament scenes form a top panel, and smaller pictures from the Old Testament appear beneath, each set moving in opposite directions (figure 18). A decorative cardboard frame could be placed on top to conceal the mechanism, and present the illusion that the pictures were viewed in a gallery setting (figure 19). It is notable that it is a grand pillared gallery, and a gilt frame, that are chosen to surround the biblical images, providing novelty and fineness of image, but not a devotional context. Though too small in scale to be used for large classes, the Scroll would have been suitable for small school- or Sunday school-rooms, or family domestic settings. A Sunday school manual from 1904, in a section on school rooms and equipment, describes such uses, and the value of the scroll:

> The Royal Scroll accomplishes the same purpose of intimate acquaintance with the facts and characters of the Bible, for the family circle and meetings of the class. I know children who have actually worn one out by constant and interested use. It is an ingenious and complete arrangement of maps, colored pictures, charts, descriptive of customs and modes of dress in Palestine, and an illuminated Life of Christ. Bishop Vincent voices the sentiment of many when he says: "It is a picture gallery, a panorama, a guide to sacred geography, a treasury of sacred art, a text-book, an atlas, a lesson-help, all in one. It is the most ingenious, charming, and complete apparatus ever offered for the home".[115]

[112] Erkki Huhtamo, *Illusions in Motion: Media Archaeology of the Moving Panorama and Related Spectacles* (London: MIT Press, 2013), 342.
[113] Huhtamo, *Illusions in Motion*, 356
[114] Huhtamo, *Illusions in Motion*, 344.
[115] F. N. Peloubet, *The Front Line of the Sunday School Movement: the Line of the Vanguard of Sunday*

The example from Stellenbosch has evidently been extensively used, and is itself close to being worn out, presumably by such 'constant and interested use'. Its handles have broken off, the cardboard proscenium frame is now crudely held together with tape, and a number of the scrolling pictures can no longer be seen as they are ripped and fragile.

The main upper pictures are reproductions of popular religious paintings, including Heinrich Hofmann's (1824-1911) 'Rich Young Ruler' (1889), several from fellow German Bernhard Plockhorst (1825-1907), and Henryk Siemiradzki's (1843-1902) rendering of Christ in the house of Mary and Martha (1886). The lower pictures are the work of J.C. Leyendecker, who later achieved fame as a magazine and advertising illustrator. Employed by the engraving house of J. Manz, Chicago, Leyendecker was commissioned to complete the series for the publisher in 1893, when aged only 19. According to Michael Schau's biography of the artist, the set initially consisted of sixty images, and was intended for an illustrated edition of the Bible.[116] The Stellenbosch scroll of 1896 features an extended series of 132 pictures. It is not clear either whether the original sixty did illustrate a Bible edition, or how many were included in the first edition of the scroll in 1894. In addition to the pictures, scriptural maps were included in the set, along with extensive text.

The main expository text included with the Royal Scroll is entitled 'Pen Pictures from Genesis to Revelation'. It provides imaginative descriptions of each of the scenes depicted on the visual plates, fulfilling the idea of the 'pen picture' as a vivid portrayal through words of a person, place or event that enables the audience to produce a mental image. This was a recognised descriptive device, often appearing in the form of pen portraits, as in John Ross Dix's *Pulpit portraits: or, Pen-pictures of distinguished American divines,*[117] and *Pen Pictures of Popular English Preachers.*[118] An Englishman who had emigrated to America in the 1840s,

School Progress, with a Glimpse of Ideals Beyond (Boston & Chicago: W. A. Wilde, 1904), 282-283; The Bishop quoted is John Hyle Vincent, who had co-founded the North American educational movement, Chautauqua, in 1874. Committed, through Chautauqua, to innovative adult education, grounded first in the training of Sunday School teachers but quickly moving into secular subjects, Vincent would have been familiar with a variety of teaching tools; see also Huhtamo, *Illusions in Motion*, 344.

[116] Michale Schau, *J.C. Leyendecker* (Watson-Guptill, 1974), 17.

[117] John Ross Dix, *Pulpit portraits: or, Pen-pictures of distinguished American divines* (Boston, MA: Tappan & Whittemore, 1854).

[118] John Ross Dix, *Pen Pictures of Popular English Preachers* (London: Partiridge & Oakley, 1852).

Dix undertook 'word-sketching'[119] to bring the appearance and character of eminent preachers to his readers. The idea of the 'pen-picture' was to substitute pictorial representation for words that could function as mental image-makers. In the case of the Royal Scroll, however, the pen pictures appear instead as extensions of what had already been pictorially expressed. The visual pictures, framed and vibrantly coloured, revealed in turn through a tactile mechanism, were surely the main attraction of the scroll; the text was an adjunct that may or may not have been consulted. Indeed, the good condition of the Stellenbosch text would suggest that it had received significantly less – or at least gentler – handling than the scroll itself.

Bishop Vincent, who had advocated the use the Royal Scrolls and other visual aids in Sunday school education, was also in favour of 'word-pictures' in preaching and Sunday school lessons.[120] He thought these, if well done, could communicate truths of 'topographical, archaeological, and personal reality' and be 'full of vividness and power'. For Vincent, its seems the ability of both verbal and visual images to prompt imaginative engagement with a subject led him to push for an increase in their use in the classroom.

In a later example, Charles Francis Hutchison's 1920s *The Pen Pictures of Modern Africans and African Celebrities* did include photographic portraits alongside a text presented in verse. The inclusion of visual portraits of African subjects is in itself a notable development since, in the period of the current study, Africans were not generally portrayed in portrait form. It was nevertheless still the pen, rather than the camera, that was meant to convey the most essential, and most colourful, visions of its characters and the social and moral messages they contained. This is in distinction from the Stellenbosch Scroll, in which the visual imagery and mechanical novelty of the scroll seems, from the relative states of repair, to have seen much greater use than the accompanying pen pictures.

5.3 Conclusion

Protestant – and even more so, evangelical – belief in the primacy of the word (Word) was pervasive. It was also persistently challenged by an inability to escape

[119] Dix, *Pulpit Portraits,* 20.
[120] John H. Vincent, *The Modern Sunday School* (Revised edition; New York: Eaton and Mains, 1900), 155.

the thrall of the visual. It was not included in training, and did not enter missionary society policy, because an acceptance of the necessity of visual aids in the conversion of the 'native' would be an admission of the insufficiency of the word (Word). Far be it for the missionary leader to stand up and declare of the dumb, created image 'Arise, it shall teach!' (Hab. 2:19).

The virtual silence of missionary societies on the subject of images as tools of foreign mission was thus a theological statement that visual imagery was not important. By not engaging with images, missionary societies marginalised them to ensure a lack of reliance or attachment to them. The emerging discrepancies between society silence and missionary practice reveal that in the inescapably visual Victorian age, visual materials were in fact widely used, but failing to engage with them on a theoretical or policy level risked a lack of visual coherence, as well as missing the great potential of image as a conscious tool of mission. Instead, the visual preferences, explicit and implicit, of individual missionaries formed the foundation of emergent missionary visual culture in the field; in consequence the concerns of those missionaries can be discovered through their visual materials.

6. Exporting Landscapes: land and landscape in missionary imagination and practice

Go up to the top of Pisgah and look around you to the west, to the north, to the south, and to the east (Deut. 3:27).

We are now in a position to see more clearly the relevance of landscape – identified previously as a central visual motif in Victorian Protestant imagination through art and print media – and the land that it interpreted. For missionaries, the underlying missive influence of landscape encountered through such media was strong and, as this chapter will explore, led to its export into foreign mission contexts in a variety of imagined, pictorial, material, and spiritual forms. At times intended, and at others incidental, exported landscapes formed influential moments of missionary activity for the missionaries themselves and for those amongst whom they laboured.

Three specific lands were of central importance in the construction of missionary identity. Firstly, the British homeland was deeply significant as the physical and imaginative origin of missionaries and their normative perceptions of landscape. Secondly, the site of their evangelistic mission, in this case southern Africa, became the space occupied, and the landscape in need of personal and theological interpretation. Finally, the spiritual landscape of the Kingdom of Heaven constituted a landscape of future hope, and a framework for imagining the earthly lands within which missionaries lived and worked.[1]

Beginning with definitions of land and landscape, and their appearances and significance within Protestant Christianity, this chapter will go on to explore their place within specifically missionary imaginations through ideas of paradise, primitivism/heathenism, and religious and spiritual journeying, and in missionary praxis through the exporting of landscape images, and their material construction. The chapter will conclude with a discussion of John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* as

[1] I explore these landscapes in relation to the complexity of belonging for foreign missionaries, who operated between physical and spiritual realm, in a recent article, 'Belonging in the Land: Land, Landscape, and Image in Southern African Missionary Encounters ca. 1840–1915', *Mission Studies* 35 (2018).

a significant influence on and tool for missionaries, which was intensely bound up with their conceptualisation and expression of landscape.

6.1 Definitions

Land and landscape are terms both understood in common usage, and endlessly debated in a variety of academic contexts. Geographers in particular have grappled with the task of defining them, and the works of key figures in that field, including Denis Cosgrove and Kenneth Olwig, will be drawn upon to aid their clarification in relation to missionary imagination and evangelism. I will, however, broadly follow art historian Malcolm Andrews' approach in proposing a threefold route that defines the interlinked concepts of first land, then landscape, and finally landscape art, which I will go on to use as the framework within which to explore their outworking in practical missionary terms.[2]

6.1.1 Land

Land is, at its most fundamental, 'the solid portion of the surface of the earth',[3] or the substance of which that portion is made.[4] As such, it is external to the existence and activities of humanity. Such a bare physical definition may be misleading, however, as actual usage of the term 'land' will tend to relate this natural physical substance in some way to human action or interest.

The term 'land' can be used synonymously with 'territory', implying the ownership of a portion of physical space by an individual, community, or nation. Terms such as landowner, fatherland, and homeland are expressions of this meaning. To avoid confusion, some writers have distinguished land in the first sense from 'landed property'.[5] While it is necessary to distinguish these two meanings, the intertwining of natural, territorial and other elements within the concept of land leads me to retain the single term incorporating both. The complexity of 'land' as a signifier of physical, ideological and practical phenomena reflects the complex interactions between people and their physical

[2] Malcolm Andrews, *Landscape and Western Art* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 3.
[3] *Chambers Dictionary Online*, 'Land (*n.*)', accessed 23 February 2018, http://chambers.co.uk/search/?query=land&title=21st.
[4] Carys Swanwick, 'Society's attitudes to and preferences for land and landscape', *Land Use Policy* 26S (2009), S63.
[5] Denis Carroll, *Land* (London: Cafod, 1998), 12.

environments, perhaps becoming most significant as a category in the liminality of disputed claims and borderlands.

Theologically, land is both creation, exemplified by the garden of Eden, and gift, as embodied in the historical and eschatological promised land; it is substance and symbol. The revealed theology that, through scripture, formed these meanings of land, sits alongside two strands of nineteenth-century thought that existed in tension with one another: natural theology and millennial expectation. Millennialism operates in expectation of a fundamental, divinely instituted change to the order of the world. In contrast, natural theology is premised on the idea that the physical and observable natural order of the current world is a supplementary 'text' (Book of Nature), through contemplation of which humanity can find substantive evidence of divine existence and character.[6] Even the iconophobic Calvin could agree that creation was an external sign that, if interpreted through the Word, might aid the interior journey to God. On the basis of natural theology, geology and biology were seen as investigations into divine creation, and as adding to the body of knowledge of God. Knowledge of the land could thus be integrated into the sphere of knowledge of God.[7] For the millennialist, however, the natural world was rather in need of redemption than functioning as evidence of the Redeemer. Particularly for premillennialists, who believed that a catastrophic event of reordering was required prior to the coming of the new Kingdom, the world was viewed in largely negative terms. For the postmillennialist, the ability and necessity of human activity working progressively to establish God's Kingdom on the existing earth involved the old order in the making of the new, and thus held nature in a more ambiguous position.[8] This latter form of progressive millennialism, which allowed for a positive approach to the natural world, was a foundational and motivational theology for many missionaries, in North America but also in Britain.

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[6] See Stuart Peterfreund, *Turning Points in Natural Theology from Bacon to Darwin: The Way of the Argument from Design,* Nineteenth Century Major Lives and Letters (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

[7] Though God could not be seen directly in creation, and nature alone did not give sufficient grounds for the practical formulation of religion.

[8] Catherine Wessinger formulated the terms 'catastrophic' and 'progressive' in relation respectively to premillenial and postmillenial thought. See 'Millennial Glossary', in *The Oxford Handbook of Millennialism*, ed. Catherine Wessinger (Oxford Handbooks Online, 2012), doi:10.1093/oxfordhb/9780195301052.003.0036.x.

Natural theology was not exempt from tensions with nature itself. By the mid-nineteenth century, advances in scientific knowledge had provoked severe challenges to the Christian narrative.[9] As understandings of geological processes developed, received scriptural chronologies could no longer be easily upheld, and skeletons in the terrestrial cupboard upset the idea that nature could act as a second sacred 'text', revealing the work and nature of God. These bones – finally, enduringly and evocatively named 'dinosaurs' in 1842 by British anatomist Richard Owen – rattled the pious by suggesting that an entire category of creatures roamed a pre-biblical earth before becoming extinct. As well as shattering the certainty of a strictly scriptural chronology and thus authority, theories of geological time were inherently disturbing in positing inconceivably vast periods of time and the attendant loss of centrality for humanity in the history of the earth. Such challenges were met by apologetics in defence of biblical chronology, by attempts to reconcile scripture and science, and through artistic responses, but fundamentally altered the relation of people, God, and land.

During the same period, land was increasingly viewed as an exploitable resource. The theological understanding of land as gift was employed to justify increasing possession, but so too was that of husbandry, and the utilisation of natural resources. Economic theory in a capitalist age side-lined scriptural injunctions that tied responsible land-use to issues of social justice, in recognition that 'land is an instrument of power',[10] but also of profit. With the enclosure Acts in England in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, common ownership and rights over land were removed, and land reallocated in favour of privileged ownership by the few 'in order to increase the efficiency of farming, to increase the agricultural productivity of land and thus to increase profits'.[11] As well as dispossessing and disadvantaging the rural poor, enclosure irrevocably altered the land-patterns of England.[12] At the same time, the Clearances were redrawing the land of northern Scotland, and also parts of the south, effecting changes to estates, agricultural practice, and population that 'fundamentally altered the

[9] Tom Devonshire Jones, Linda Murray and Peter Murray, *The Oxford Dictionary of Christian Art and Architecture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 303.
[10] Carroll, *Land,* 12.
[11] Frank A. Sharman, 'An introduction to the enclosure acts', *The Journal of Legal History* 10:1 (1989), 46, doi:10.1080/01440368908530953.
[12] Sharman, 'Enclosure acts', 66.

appearance of the Highland landscape'.[13] With the rural north being depopulated through emigration, boundaries being redrawn in the north and the south, and urbanisation drawing population into the cities, land acquired a new and contradictory character. It both presented an economic opportunity, through the commercialisation of agriculture, and was idealised as untouched wilderness (depopulated Highlands) or rural idyll, ignoring or excluding the realities of rural suffering and poverty.

These changing understandings of land extended into acquisitive attitudes associated with the expansion of empire. Commerce, associated as we have seen with the missionary project through its alliance with 'civilisation' and Christianity, was an overt element of much missionary interaction with Africa. Its humanitarian aspect as a counter to the commodification of human lives through the slave trade cannot be discounted, but the effect of attempts to impose commercial land-usage was an inescapable corollary of the policy. In Malawi's Shiré highlands, coffee plantations altered the physical land but, in consequence, that of surrounding areas changed too, with the migration of labourers affecting population and wider agricultural activity. This is evident in Walter Angus Elmslie's account of his missionary work in northern Malawi, first published in 1899. Whilst claiming that '[w]e were "the people of the Book" and not for trade',[14] he also recognised and applauded just such a connection:

> many hundreds of men go every year to the coffee plantations of the Shire highlands, and the trading corporations at work in various parts of the country, where they proved steady and successful labourers, without whom, and others, the commercial interest could not prosper. But let us not forget that all has come about through the preaching of the Gospel of Christ.[15]

Here, the economic migration of labourers is explicitly linked to alterations in land-use for international commerce, and to the missionary enterprise. More specifically, it is the character of the migrant men as 'steady and successful' that is seemingly attributed to the Christian gospel: the communication of the European Protestant work ethic enabled the commercialisation of agriculture. This ignores, of course, the harsher economic and social imperatives that would

[13] Katherine Genevieve Worthing, 'The landscape of clearance: changing rural life in nineteenth-century Scottish painting', PhD thesis, University of Glasgow 2006, http://theses.gla.ac.uk/5498/, 205.
[14] W.A. Elmslie, *Among the Wild Ngoni: Being Some Chapters in the History of the Livingstonia Mission in British Central Africa* (Edinburgh & London: Oliphant Anderson & Ferrier, 1901), 120.
[15] Elmslie, *Among the Wild Ngoni*, 295.

have driven men into such employment, and the direction in which wealth derived from the land travelled; this partial view was echoed by fellow missionary James Stewart:

> Out of the seclusion and slumber of thousands of years the greater part of the continent has suddenly been awakened. Causes both numerous and varied have contributed to this awakening. Exploration was one; missionary work another; the discovery of great mineral wealth a third; and the partition of the continent among the European Powers a fourth.[16]

Stewart, like Elmslie, links missionary and economic interests. Furthermore, exploration, the discovery of valuable mineral resources, and the imperial partitioning of territory – three out of Stewart's four 'causes' – explicitly concern land in its relation to and exploitation by Europe.

Tania Murray Li, in her article 'What is Land?', describes how 'inscription devices' from mapping to ploughing mark out land as a resource for different groups.[17] She quotes William Archer, a British colonial official in the Indian district of Chotanagpur investigating a dispute over indigenous communities' entitlement to land in 1921, reporting that 'When asked "Where are your title deeds?" [members of the indigenous community] replied "The answer is my spade, my axe, my ploughshare are my title deeds [...] ploughing is the writing of the golden pen on golden land"'.[18] This exemplifies one type of inscription, and one type of claim 'demanding presence on the ground', found in the intimate and literal material marks made upon the land by agricultural tools. It also suggests that other types of claim can be made, some of which 'enabl[e] land to be manipulated from a distance', as with the strokes of the cartographer's pen.[19] In the passage from Stewart above, we can see various inscriptions enacted: exploration, involving the mapping and the marking out of transport passages; the extraction of mineral wealth marking the land through mining; political partition inscribed in maps and treaties. Land is material, but also social, and, as such, subjective. In Li's term's, land has 'presence and location', but its resource value is relative.

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[16] James Stewart, *Dawn in the Dark Continent, or Africa and Its Mission. The Duff Missionary Lectures for 1902* (Edinburgh & London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1903), 15.

[17] Tania Murray Li, 'What is land? Assembling a resource for global investment' *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 39 (2014), 590, doi: 10.1111/tran.12065.

[18] Li, 'What is Land?', 589.

[19] Li, 'What is Land?', 589.

At a more modest and localised level, access to land was important for individual missionaries attempting to establish stations in Africa. Donald Fraser, again working in northern Malawi, among the Tumbuka, recalled the establishment of the mission station of Loudon:

> When the neighbouring chiefs saw that we were likely to settle there, they marked out for us about a square mile of land, and told us it was ours, if we chose to use it. So we walked round the boundaries with them, and marked the trees, that all might know the portion of land into which no native gardeners might trespass without first obtaining our permission as owners of the soil.[20]

Fraser's concerns here with boundaries and apportionment, ownership and trespass, are expressed along comparable lines to the broader claims of empire, but enacted with the concessionary blessing of the area's chiefs. For others, no such blessing was forthcoming. Elmslie, working in the same region, but among the politically and militarily stronger Ngoni, wrote that '[i]t must be remembered that we were merely in the country on sufferance at that time. We did not even own the site of our house, and were not by any means assured of a permanent residence among them'.[21] Competing claims to, and power in relation to, land by indigenous populations, and attitudes of those parties towards missionary activities, affected the establishment, continuation and effectiveness of missionary operations. Where missionary claims were not strong enough in relation to those of local peoples, and support was not forthcoming, mission occupation of land was tenuous and unstable.

Land, then, is the physical soil of the earth, but also its exploitable resources; it is territory the ownership of which can be bestowed by divine or human dispensation, or wrested by physical or political force. It is consequently also subject to disputed claims, and acts of eviction and dispossession.

6.1.2. Landscape

Landscape, rooted etymologically and conceptually in land as just described, shares many of its features. It is nevertheless significantly distinct, circumscribing not only physical, spatial, measurable entities with exploitable material

[20] Donald Fraser, *Winning a Primitive People: Sixteen Years' Work Among the Warlike Tribe of the Ngoni and the Senga and Tumbuka Peoples of Central Africa* (London: Seeley, Service & Co, 1914), 206.
[21] Elmslie, *Among the Wild Ngoni,* 137.

resources, but their perceptual interpretation. Landscape ambiguously denotes both place and picture, both a way of seeing and the place that is seen:[22] through the inescapable act of seeing, the land is transformed into landscape. As a point of intersection between the natural world and human activity and perception, landscape functions as a mediatory space intertwining physical and conceptual interpretations of land. The meaning of landscape, and its relation to land, is not static, however, but has changed and developed over time. These changes can be seen in the greater or lesser emphasis placed on the political, social, spatial, and aesthetic as constituent elements of landscape, from its origins in the Middle Ages to the postmodern era; this overarching movement is described by Cosgrove as a 'historical shift from a legal and territorial idea of landscape to a scenic and pictorial usage'.[23]

The roots of landscape are found in the German term *Landschaft*, the meaning of which is grounded in the social and political organisation of land. Used in the early Middle Ages to indicate social norms operating in a particular area or within a particularly community, *Landschaft's* meaning changed in the later Middle Ages to encompass the land area itself, as well as the norms observed within it.[24] As Olwig sets out, its meanings continued to expand into the modern era to incorporate legal structures of territories, the people making up the spatially-situated community, and even the spirit or values of the community. Some of these meanings migrated into the definition of English *landscape*, and can be seen in its comparable application to non-spatial organisational structures, which give meaning to terms such as the 'political landscape'. Landscape involves spatial territories, but cannot even in its furthest origins be reduced to them.

The particular character of the English idea of *landscape* was also influenced by developments in sixteenth-century Northern European art, which sought to

[22] W.J.T. Mitchell, 'Imperial Landscape', in *Landscape and Power*, ed. W.J.T. Mitchell (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 8; Kenneth R. Olwig, '"This is not a Landscape": Circulating Reference and Land Shaping' in *European Rural Landscapes: Persistence and Change in a Globalising Environment*, ed. Hannes Palang et al, (Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands, 2004), 41.

[23] Denis Cosgrove, 'Landscape and *Landschaft*: Lecture delivered at the "Spatial Turn in History" Symposium,
German Historical Institute, February 19, 2004', *Bulletin of the GHI Washington* 35 (2004), 60.

[24] Ute Luig and Achim von Oppen, 'Landscape in Africa: Process and Vision. An Introductory Essay', *Paideuma: Mitteilungen zur Kulturkunde* 43 (1997), 9; Cosgrove, 'Landscape and *Landschaft*', 60.

represent visually the common territories of emergent national identity.[25] The aesthetic became strongly characteristic of the English landscape, but the connection with the complexities of *landschaft* ensured that it was not the neutral appearance of natural scenery that emerged, but representations 'imbued with meaning'.[26] This can be seen in the translation of vast land, which cannot be accommodated by the human gaze, into artificially limited and constructed landscape views that, neither in sensory perception nor visual representation, can claim neutrality.[27] The selection and labelling of a particular view as, perhaps, picturesque, idyllic, or barren, involves a complex act of interpretation combining culturally-formed understandings of aesthetics, politics, science, economics, and territory. Thus, historian John McAleer offers as his definition of landscape in a British imperial context, 'a site of cultural and social significance which may include elements of flora and fauna', foregrounding the cultural and social over aesthetic elements of nature.[28]

Landscape defined in this way requires the separation of human and land; it is an attitude or perspective of distance. Europeans tended, with Ernest Coffin, to think that 'primitive' peoples were unable to perceive this distance, and in consequence failed to have a concept of landscape. Viewing them rather as part of the land itself and so integral to the landscape, Europeans posited a human-nature divide, and placed indigenous people on the side of nature.[29] As Luig and Oppen have argued, however, 'rural African people cannot be seen as just living "inside" nature', as they were so often depicted in colonial pictures.[30] Rather, they have distinct and multiplicitous aesthetics of nature, a prerequisite of which is a relationship of distinction or distance from, and appropriation of, the land.

6.1.3 Landscape art

As picture as well as place, the English *landscape*, more so than the German *Landschaft*, denotes the pictorial representation of a discrete area of land. As we saw in Chapter 3, depictions of landscape in art as background, symbolic context,

[25] Olwig, 'This is not a landscape', 57.
[26] Kenneth R. Olwig, 'Recovering the Substantive Nature of Landscape', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 86:4 (1996), 635.
[27] Andrews, *Landscape,* 1, 7-8.
[28] John McAleer, *Representing Africa: Landscape, Exploration and Empire in Southern Africa, 1780-1870* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), 15-16.
[29] McAleer, *Representing Africa,* 59.
[30] Luig and Oppen, 'Landscape in Africa', 21.

and later as independent genre, have been present in the West for centuries. These visual representations of perceived landscapes through art (primarily paintings and their reproductions) develop the perceptual act of limiting and interpreting the land. If the immersive totality of the land could not be captured by direct sensory experience, neither could it be captured within the confines of a two-dimensional painting. Modes of limitation have long been developed to tame and contain it, and to make political claims of possession, as with eighteenth-century depictions of the gentry in their landed estates. More significant in the nineteenth century were the conventions of the picturesque and the sublime, and the symbolic realism of the Pre-Raphaelites, which each carried their own political and religious implications.

In this regard, McAleer's 2010 monograph, *Representing Africa*, is instructive. He argues that the way Europeans represented the African landscape changed through this period to reflect alterations in their relationship with it, and changes in conventions within Western landscape art. In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, South Africa was a 'landscape of convenience', promoted as a site for European emigration, so represented as favourable in scenery, climate, fertility, and resource-richness. The conventions of the picturesque suited this aim, Anglicising and domesticating a landscape already viewed favourably in terms of its utility.[31] The shift from land to landscape was thereby enacted through a process of 'relat[ing] the wilderness to that which is not wilderness'[32] that applied norms of aesthetic and symbolic understanding to render it tame. William Gilpin in his 1792 *Three Essays* defined picturesque objects as those 'which please from some quality, capable of being *illustrated in painting*',[33] with the act of representation itself seen as part of the perception and appreciation of a particular landscape.

Just as land itself was intensely political, there were significant social and political aspects of the picturesque, as with Humphrey Repton's removal, by picturesque artifice, of evidences of the social and economic activities of lower

[31] McAleer, *Representing Africa,* 59,62,73.
[32] Ronald Paulson, *Literary Landscape: Turner and Constable* (London: Yale University Press, 1982), 21.
[33] William Gilpin, *Three Essays: on picturesque beauty, on picturesque travel and on sketching landscape: to which is added a poem, on landscape painting* (London: R. Blamire, 1792), 3 (emphasis original).

classes, erasing the figures and symbols of the presence of the local poor.[34] That this artistic erasure occurred as the actual poor were being forcibly removed from highland Scotland, and dispossessed under enclosure, produced troubling 'human implications of the picturesque scene' for John Ruskin.[35] In *Modern Painters V*, he challenged the 'rhapsodies' of 'a zealous, useful, and able Scotch clergyman' over the evidence of God in a picturesque Highland scene:

> Beside the rock, in the hollow under the thicket, the carcass of a ewe, drowned in the last flood, lies nearly bare to the bone, its white ribs protruding through the skin, raven-torn; and the rags of its wool still flickering from the branches that first stayed it as the stream swept it down […] Lower down the stream, I can just see, over a knoll, the green and damp turf roofs of four or five hovels, built at the edge of a morass, which is trodden by the cattle into a black Slough of Despond at their doors […] and at the turn of the brook I see a man fishing, with a boy and a dog – a picturesque and pretty group enough certainly, if they had not been there all day starving. I know them, and I know the dog's ribs also, which are nearly as bare as the dead ewe's; and the child's wasted shoulders, cutting his old tartan jacket through, so sharp are they.[36]

Rural land in this description cannot be equated simply with nature as a document of divine presence, but is a landscape both physically constructed, and artificially or artistically represented. It is a matter of interpretation on the part of the viewer to see or to erase that which does not conform to the construct.

As exploration of the African interior increased into the mid-nineteenth century, McAleer argues that the picturesque became inadequate as an interpretative lens.[37] Livingstone's attempts to describe Mosi-oa-Tunya (Victoria Falls), on his 'discovery' of it in 1857, in relation to locations in the British landscape are certainly suggestive of such an inadequacy. It is a large leap of imagination that he asks of his readers when he suggests that:

> If one imagines the Thames filled with low, tree-covered hills immediately beyond the tunnel at Gravesend, the bed of black basalt rock instead of London mud, and a fissure made therein from one end of the tunnel to the other […] then fancy the Thames leaping boldly into the gulf, and forced to change its direction […] and then rush boiling and roaring through the hills, he may have some idea of what takes

[34] Lukacher, 'Nature Historicized', 117-8.
[35] George P. Landow, *The Aesthetic and Critical Theories of John Ruskin* (Princeton University Press, 1971).
[36] John Ruskin, *Modern Painters V* (New York: John Wiley, 1869), 218-219.
[37] McAleer, *Representing Africa*, 86-87.

> place at this, the most wonderful sight I had witnessed in Africa.[38]

Livingstone uses the model of the Thames, stretched to varying degrees, twice in his *Missionary Travels*, and the Clyde five times, to try to describe elements of the landscape through which he travelled.[39] The deficiency of the comparisons suggest that a different mode of representation was required to express these new and powerful places, and McAleer argues that the aesthetic tool best equipped was the sublime, as 'it allowed for something more intellectually valid and more politically useful'.[40] Even Livingstone's naming of the Falls after the Queen indicates the attempt not only to claim, but to Anglicise and tame, whereas the name Mosi-oa-Tunya, meaning 'smoke that thunders', indicates 'mystery and obscurity' more in tune with the vastness and awe associated with the experience of the waterfalls, and the conventions of the sublime.

Alongside these aesthetic modes of representation, and often practically inseparable from them, was what McAleer terms 'the scientific impulse' to draw African landscapes into the realm of empirical European knowledge:

> Scientifically informed empirical renditions of natural phenomena encountered by travellers and settlers as they explored the colonial periphery were not just simple, 'value-neutral' images or descriptions of the landscape. Rather, they were interpretations deeply engaged in a process of making those landscape spaces known to those who saw or read them.[41]

Cartography, natural history recording, the physical export of flora and fauna, land- and sea-scapes, and the naming of places, all participated in this taming and claiming of the land.[42]

The aesthetic cannot be separated from the political, social, legal and territorial implications of landscape, even if aesthetic considerations have tended to dominate, in distinction from the more spatially oriented *Landschaft*. Early landscape painting was itself not only concerned with representing 'natural

[38] David Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa* (London: John Murray, 1857), 520.
[39] Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, 264, 520; 69, 332, 360, 522, 655.
[40] McAleer, *Representing Africa,* 87.
[41] McAleer, *Representing Africa,* 96-97.
[42] The domestication of African land through the use of Scottish place-names is discussed in Mackenzie and Dalziel, *Scots in South Africa*, 15.

scenery', but with inscribing and memorialising customs, territories, and local identities.[43] Such representations could not escape becoming implicated in discourses of political, territorial, and social power: if land is an instrument of power, then its representation as landscape is a tool and expression of that power. W.J.T. Mitchell, in his important edited collection on the subject, *Landscape and Power,* holds that the idea that landscape 'is nature, not convention' serves to 'erase the signs of our own constructive activity in the formation of landscape as meaning or value, to produce an art that conceals its own artifice'.[44] This recognition of the conventional and political aspects of landscape as representation is crucial as we go forward to consider how landscape participated in the missionary project.

6.2 Land/scape in Protestant theology, imagination and visual art

In the evangelical imagination of the missionary, land and landscape are redolent with images of scriptural and eschatological meaning that develop a distinctive interaction with the triptych of British, African, and Kingdom lands. Scriptural landscapes, the inscriptions of landscape in religious art, and the imagined landscapes of spiritual place and journeying, will be explored in succession.

6.2.1 Scriptural Land/scapes

Land, as described in 6.1.1, has particular significance in the Judaeo-Christian tradition. A central element within the Hebrew Bible is the promised land, designated by God for the people of Israel. Land in this sense is a gift, and also an inheritance for future generations, as expressed in Leviticus: 'The land shall not be sold in perpetuity, for the land is mine; with me you are but aliens and tenants' (25:23).[45] There is a visual element too in the conception of the promised land. Moses, who never entered the land, was granted his Pisgah view of the 'good hill country' to which they had been led (Deut. 3:23-28; 34:1-4). Looking around 'to the west, to the north, to the south, and to the east' (3:27), Moses experienced a 360° panoramic view that was visually accessible, but remained physically distant; he saw a land that could be encompassed in sight from the vantage point of Pisgah,

[43] Olwig, 'Substantive Nature', 634-635.
[44] Mitchell, 'Imperial Landscape', 6.
[45] See Carroll, *Land,* 33.

and its territories named, but could not be contained in a single static view, and that remained for Moses a promise and never a reality.

For Walter Brueggemann, Genesis 1-11, from Adam and Eve to Babel, concerns rootedness and loss, while the subsequent narrative of Abraham in Genesis 12-50 is about landlessness and expectation: 'These two histories set the parameters of land theology in the Bible: presuming upon the land and being expelled from it; trusting towards a land not yet possessed, but empowered by *anticipation* of it'.[46] Once Israel is a landed people, Brueggemann goes on to argue, experiences and expectations concerning the land change. Both he and Denis Carroll emphasise this through the association of Old Testament land theology and social justice, for instance in injunctions to stewardship of the land, the institutions of the Sabbath and the Jubilee to give rest to the land and its labourers, and Levitical rulings on field boundaries left fallow to provide food for the poor. These form the basis of a social and ecological theology of land, but ignore the most troubling aspect of the promised land: exclusion and oppression. Occupation of the territory promised to them by God necessitated the Israelite expulsion of the existing populace, symbolised by Moses' landscape view that highlighted the land, but erased its people. The difficulties attendant upon the conception of a people as Chosen is evident in another age and continent in a southern African context, where Afrikaner identity was predicated on a belief in their divine chosenness, and the inheritance of prophetic land promises from Hebrew scripture invested contemporary land-claims with a sense of the gifted right of possession of a promised land.[47]

The Genesis idea of humanity being formed out of the earth, of the substance of the land, provides another aspect of theological connection and relation between people and land. In the narrative of Genesis 2, human origin is situated in the land-as-soil itself, with God forming Adam from the dust (2:7). In this account, the act of creation, and of human beings especially, occurs within the landscape of the Edenic garden. The implications are not, however, straightforward. Although the createdness of humanity, and dependence upon

[46] Walter Brueggemann, *The Land: Place as Gift, Promise, and Challenge in Biblical Faith* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977), 15.
[47] Donald Harmen Akenson, *God's Peoples: Covenant and Land in South Africa, Israel, and Ulster* (Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press, 1992).

God and the gifts of the natural world, are evident in the creation narratives, human existence is also entwined with the idea of dominion and control (1:26,28), the secondary creation of non-human creatures (2:18), and the human right to name them (2:19) which, as with the naming of land, was a claim of knowledge and of ownership. Furthermore, the garden itself cannot be easily separated from the narrative of 'presumption and expulsion' that constitutes the Fall, as a consequence of which humanity became alienated from the land and was forced to struggle in order to derive sustenance from it (3:17-19).

By drawing on this scriptural imagery of paradise and fall, landscape came to function as a moral symbol. Whereas the garden of Eden satisfied all material needs, was lush and wholesome and suited the moral innocence and purity of the newly-created state, moral degradation led to expulsion from paradise and the necessity for labour upon the land to realise its resource potential, as Brueggemann charted in the resulting pattern of expulsions from the land and experiences of wilderness. The uncultivated land can be seen as a 'primitive paradise' evidencing God's creational power, or as a wilderness needing conversion to civilisation, a tension of interpretation that recurs in missionary and other European traveller interactions with African landscape.[48] Missionary activity to cultivate and domesticate the land, materially or representationally, thus contains a morally and theologically charged attempt to redeem it.

The emphasis on Old Testament scripture in relation to land and landscape is indicative of the relative paucity of direction within the New Testament on the relations between humanity, God, and land. The early Christian community was diverse and diasporic, and unlike the chosen people of the Hebrew Bible, not linked to a physical area of land except through scriptural history. The topography and geographic features of the Middle East nonetheless permeate the biblical narratives of both Testaments,[49] the search for which fuelled the growth in travel to the region during the nineteenth century, Zionist ideologies, archaeological excavations, and the incorporation of British land into the landscape of Christian history. Again, Brueggemann offers an additional view, arguing that the central concern of the New Testament is the coming of the kingdom, the concept of which

[48] McAleer, *Representing Africa,* 134.
[49] Brueggemann, *Land,* 185.

'includes among its nuances the idea of historical, political, physical realm, that is, land'. In Hebrews 11:13-16, Brueggemann finds, drawn from the narrative of Abraham, a pattern that establishes a 'pilgrimage of faith […] set in three scenes: (a) a land from which they set out in faith, (b) the present context of exile, and (c) the hoped-for homeland (*patrida*)'.[50] This model is helpful in the missionary context, to understand the ambiguity we began the chapter with, of people becoming intentional exiles from their land of origin, in pursuit of the eschatological homeland of the Kingdom.

6.2.2 Inscriptions in art

Although, according to the *Oxford Dictionary of Christian Art and Architecture*, landscape is a 'genre of painting that is not normally reckoned to fall within the category of "Christian art"',[51] there is a long history of its appearance there, which, given the scriptural significance of land and landscape just discussed, should not come as a surprise. As background or context in the depiction of biblical scenes, landscape elements go back to early Christian artistic expressions, and since at least the sixteenth century landscapes have formed more integral parts of religious art.

The landscape of the Holy Land, as literary background and visual context, is a recurrent element in Christian art, though accuracy of topographical detail was not a concern until the nineteenth century, when physical accessibility combined with belief in the intellectual and spiritual power of seeing places as they 'really' are. In volumes such as Findens' 1836 *Landscape Illustrations of the Bible*, and Alexander Keith's *Evidence of the Truth of the Christian Religion,* illustrated from 1844 with engravings after daguerreotype images taken in the Holy Land, the inclusion of 'on the spot' views was justified by the sense that 'the photograph authenticated both his text and Holy Scripture':[52] that seeing really is believing.

> If [unbelievers] have ever staggered at the promises or threatenings of the Scriptures because of unbelief – discrediting all *revelation* from on high – can they

[50] Brueggemann, *Land*, 179.
[51] 'Landscape', *The Oxford Dictionary of Christian Art and Architecture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 302.
[52] Kathleen Stewart Howe, 'Mapping a Sacred Geography: Photographic Surveys by the Royal Engineers in the Holy Land, 1864-68', in *Picturing Place: Photography and the Geographic Imagination*, ed. Joan Schwarz and James Ryan (London & New York: I.B. Taurus, 2003), 229.

> not here discern supernatural evidence in confirmation of supernatural truths? May not *sight* lead them to faith?[53]

Similarly, in his introduction to Findens' volume Thomas Hartwell Horne claims that 'the fulfilment of prophecy is actually set before the eye, while the understanding is assisted and confirmed by the sight'.[54] In both cases, the real value in seeing the holy landscape is not in the view of the natural scenery, but in the glimpse of the supernatural the reader-viewer gains through it.

Ruskin was a significant mid-nineteenth century advocate of the production of landscapes as religious art in their own right, and was critical of earlier landscape painting that 'has never taught us one deep or holy lesson', displaying only 'the dexterity of man' and not 'the perfection of nature' as divine creation.[55] He argued that realism in the depiction of landscape should be sought in order to engender a response to the 'truth' of nature as an expression of God's being. The Pre-Raphaelite concern to depict detail with painful accuracy can be seen as a manifestation (and consequence) of this impulse; the desire to capture visually accurate detail in order to point to greater truth drives both the 'on the spot' biblical landscape recorder, and the symbolic realist. Depicting a scene as it would appear to the eye could suggest an art that offers no more meaning or value than the physical view itself; that such a depiction can never in reality be achieved, however, inevitably results in additional meaning being attached to the artist's representation, by the artist and the viewer. Simply by selecting from the broad scope of human vision a particular, discrete view, meaning is implied. This is certainly evident in views of the Holy Land. Each selection is not only of a site mentioned in scripture, but comprises a series of decisions on perspective, composition, foreground, meteorological detail, human and natural imprints on the land.

Literary and visual art and culture around travel and exploration extended beyond the borders of the lands of scripture, and beyond the remit of strictly biblical landscapes. Sites of real lives and contemporary histories were, as noted in Chapter 4, significant but problematic for British Protestants. The impulse to

[53] Alexander Keith, *Evidence of the Truth of the Christian Religion*, 37th edition (London: T. Nelson, 1849), 391.
[54] John Ruskin, *Modern Painters* (New York: John Wiley, 1848), iv.
[55] Ruskin, *Modern Painters*, xxii-xxiii.

memorialise people through the places with which they were connected conflicted with antagonism towards the sanctification of sites, perceived as potentially idolatrous. Places located not in the real but the imagined world could avoid this dilemma, as with the desire to undertake religious journeying being transferred into spiritual, allegorical parallels, most famously in that of *The Pilgrim's Progress*, to which we return in 6.5 below. Imagined landscapes of spiritual progression and eschatological return fit into the paradigm of the individual faith journey and personal confession distinctive of the Protestant faith in general, and evangelicalism in particular. Consequently, the connections between travel writings and spiritual or religious writings, evident in the era of European exploration of Africa, did not just consist of physical parallels, and intersections of geographic and evangelical aims. The very pattern of geography and biography, as Stephen Daniels and Catherine Nash have argued, are intertwined, not only in the autobiographical geographies of eighteenth and nineteenth-century explorers, but in the imaginative inscription of lives onto spatial geographic planes: 'Narratives of the lifepath in western culture have been plotted in an explicitly geographical way, through the metaphor and technique of mapping'.[56]

Earthly landscapes appeared in painted form invested with religious symbolism too, as with William Holman Hunt's *Our English Coasts,* 1852. Painted with painstaking attention to the natural appearance of light, shadow, and colour, the work was technically significant, hailed by Ruskin as faithfully replicating in paint the impressions perceived by the eye.[57] However, Hunt's own concern to convey greater spiritual meaning through the natural details of his art, as Carol Jacobi claims, 'complicates Hunt's claims to realism'.[58] One way in which the real could communicate meaning beyond itself was through the textual appendages that Hunt favoured, in the form of titles, scriptural quotations, or passages of description. For *Our English Coasts*, the later addition of the title *Strayed Sheep* served this function, implying a biblical reference and comment upon 'the

[56] Stephen Daniels and Catherine Nash, 'Lifepaths: geography and biography', *Journal of Historical Geography* 30 (2004), 449.
[57] John Ruskin, *The Art of England, Lectures Given in Oxford* (Orpington: George Allen, 1884), 11, quoted in Carol Jacobi *William Holman Hunt: Painter, Painting, Paint* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), 154; see also Susan P. Casteras, 'Symbolist Debts to Pre-Raphaelitism' in Thomas J. Tobin (ed.), *Worldwide Pre-Raphaelitism* (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York, 2005), 120-121.
[58] Jacobi, *William Holman Hunt,* 162.

Christian flock, unguided and becoming tangled among the brambles'.[59] Prior to this titular addendum, the painting was interpreted as a political comment on the vulnerability of England in relation to the new regime of Napoleon III in France; the biblical inscription, taking it from the political to the spiritual realm, was added before its exhibition in Paris in 1855.[60] While the alteration might be regarded cynically, the more explicit association of an English landscape with scriptural meaning does adhere to a tradition of transposing it onto local scenes, found for instance in the setting of Albrecht Durer's *The Virgin and the Long-Tailed Monkey* by a Nuremburg pond-house, and recurring again in William Dyce's 1860 depiction of Christ in a Scottish Highland landscape in *Man of Sorrows*.

6.3 Landscape and missionary imagination

For British missionaries, the actual experience of Africa was interpreted through landscape imagery absorbed in missive, pre-mission contexts, from picturesque paintings to maps and charts. It is therefore unsurprising that the comparison of African landscape with British landscape, and the interpretation of African land in terms of British land, is a recurrent theme in the writings of missionaries and explorers, as with Livingstone's interpretation of African landscapes in terms of the Thames and the Clyde.[61] Indeed, it is a pragmatic commonplace when presenting something unknown to a reader, viewer, or listener, to begin with a mutually-known reference point. The challenge is to enable the audience to move beyond that familiar referent, and genuinely to grasp something of the unknown.

Eitan Bar-Yosef, in his study of the *Holy Land in English Culture,* encounters this phenomenon in English education, with David Stow's 1838 *Manual for Sabbath School Teachers and Parents* encouraging children to imagine biblical sites by picturing the familiar, 'imagining the Oriental by using the vernacular'.[62] Aesthetic conventions also participate in this process. The representation of alien lands as, for example, picturesque or sublime landscapes, enables those

[59] Tim Barringer, *Reading the Pre-Raphaelites*, revised edition (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2012), 65-66.
[60] Barringer, *Pre-Raphaelites,* 66.
[61] See also Free Church of Scotland, *Report on Foreign Missions* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1888), 43.
[62] Eitan Bar-Yosef, *The Holy Land in English Culture 1799-1917: Palestine and the Question of Orientalism* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), 129.

unfamiliar spaces to be interpreted within pre-defined categories through a process that familiarises and tames.[63]

While such descriptions of one place in terms of another can go beyond being a simple referential or descriptive tool, they can do so in a way that expresses less an understanding of the unfamiliar, than a conception of the relative positions of those places as territorial and imaginative spaces.[64] Where Africa was conceived by reference to Europe, their relative positions were hierarchical. Figure 20, from a Church of Scotland missionary lantern slide, gives visual expression to this by showing the geographical outline of Scotland, with that of Lake Nyasa (Malawi) overlaid to indicate relative scale. In so doing, this image is 'contributing to a visual lexicon that defines Africa in relation to European categories and localities'.[65] Such images also contributed to imaginative and aesthetic barriers that prevented missionaries from viewing African landscapes on their own terms.

Added to the impulse, shared with secular colonists and explorers, to view physicals lands comparatively, was a need amongst missionaries to understand Africa in relation to spiritual landscape and scriptural precedent. History and tradition provided rich, strong senses of the theological meaning of British land and landscape, and that of the Holy Land. For missionaries, the challenge was to create a new spiritual land narrative for Africa that would integrate an alien, unfamiliar place into an existing interpretative structure. Biblical references to Africa were mined to gain a divine perspective on the continent, but these were scarce enough that such a structure remained elusive. Although scriptural action occasionally occurred in Egypt – most prominently the enslavement and exodus of the Israelites, and the flight of the holy family – the biblical placement of areas beyond North Africa has proved more problematic.

Ethiopia, frequently (and often ambiguously) named in the scriptures, was used in the early nineteenth century as a signifier of sub-Saharan Africa as a whole, both visually and textually. Figure 21 shows a map from Free Church missionary James Stewart's 1903 *Dawn in the Dark Continent*, in which the southern portion of the African continent, bar coastal regions already claimed by

[63] McAleer, *Representing Africa*, 59-62.
[64] Luig and Oppen, 'Landscape in Africa', 29-30, 33.
[65] Brown, 'Belonging in the Land', 37-38.

Europeans, is labelled, in line with 1803 knowledge, as 'Ethiopia.' This follows a tradition stretching back to at least the ninth century BCE, when Homer described an Ethiopia encompassing both the rising and the setting suns.[66] In biblical references, Ethiopia (Hebrew *Cush*) is a broad and ambiguous term, referring at times to specific North African locales, and at others denoting a more generic and derogatory 'far-distant, uncivilized, and despised black race'.[67] This was both vague and critical enough to provide affirmation for early missionary and exploratory conceptions of a dark, unknown continent, that in turn justified missionaries' presence and role, and affected the nature of their practical and spiritual interventions.

6.3.1 Cartographic inscriptions.

Accompanying Stewart's 1803 map of Africa is another, labelled 1903, on which the blank spaces of 'Ethiopia' have been largely replaced by details of rivers and settlements, and portioned into parcels of territory colour-coded according to European colonial possession in the wake of the Scramble for Africa. Charting geographical knowledge of the African continent, based at first on scant information and dubious reports, then increasing as European exploration expanded through the nineteenth century, was a visual measure of knowledge of the continent, but also of its subjugation through colonisation. Many of the lines demarcating land were inscribed by distant powers at the 1884-5 Berlin Conference, literally applying rulers to charts. The straight lines that formed new national boundaries, for instance between German South West Africa and Bechuanaland (Namibia and Botswana), are the most obvious such inscriptions of pen on land, reflecting not the situation on the ground, but acting as 'instruments and representations'[68] of European power and possession.

Such representations and redesignings of Africa functioned to chart not only political and physical possession, but also imaginative possession and corresponding dispossession. Missionary preoccupation with mapping meant that

[66] David Tuesday Adamo, *Africa and the Africans in the Old Testament* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2001), 29-30.
[67] Edward Ullendorff, *Ethiopia and the Bible: The Schweich Lectures 1967* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), 9.
[68] Thomas J. Bassett, 'Cartography and Empire Building in Nineteenth-Century West Africa', *Geographical Review* 84:3 (1994), 316.

wall maps became common as Sunday school or day school teaching aids and classroom adornments. Reflecting in more modest form the 'spectacular cartographic displays' that 'were a common feature of public meetings' on subjects of mission, empire, or geography in Britain,[69] and those of British schoolrooms, these maps foregrounded the geography of Africa as a sphere of European knowledge to be imparted to African people. As Ngũgĩ and others have emphasised, the imposition of European languages and literary texts within African education led to self-alienation and dislocation; geographical representations similarly led to the ambiguous recreation of familiar African land as external and alien, though the intentions of educators may have been more complex, as with the use of map-drawing as a tool of aesthetic development seen in Chapter 5.

Effects of externalisation and dislocation carried over into attitudes to physical landscapes. It was presumed that indigenous peoples, existing in pre-scientific cultures, were uninterested in their land environments, and so unfit to possess it.[70] The following from a missionary newspaper in Blantyre, Malawi, in 1893 is indicative of attitudes to connections between the land and its people:

> As in the land so in the people there are solid excellencies, which amply repay all true labour, whether of the want of the staff notation or of the stroke of the planter's hoe. A saying of our old gardener, Mr. Duncan, is worth remembering, 'The land is good if you do well to it.'[71]

The people are not seen here as possessors of the land, but as integral to it, just as were the rural poor in British idyllic and Romantic landscapes. This passage is reminiscent also of Coffin's dismissal of African capacity to appreciate the aesthetics of their landscape, affirming the erroneous view that there was too little distance between people and land for an aesthetic perception to be possible.

The fame of David Livingstone, who himself described the Makololo people as 'children of nature',[72] was in large part due to his extensive cartographic

[69] Felix Driver, *Geography Militant: cultures of exploration and empire* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), 79.
[70] McAleer, *Representing Africa,* 16.
[71] *Life and Works in British Central Africa,* Jan 1893:1, Council for World Mission/London Missionary Society Archive, School of Oriental and African Studies, London.
[72] Livingstone, *Missionary Travels,* 246.

representation of southern Africa.[73] Much of his travelling was conducted, during and after his association with the LMS, with the support of the Royal Geographic Society, with the maps he made relied upon by subsequent travellers and missionary planners, and lauded as great advances in geographical knowledge.[74] Furthermore, they participated in the presentation of Livingstone's own relationship with Africa, as demonstrated by a portrait held in the LMS archives (figure 22). This image foregrounds a printed map of Africa, pinned to the wall behind Livingstone, while the physical land is relegated to a glimpsed view through a window aperture. Windows, as Duncan P.R. Patterson explains, are permeable conduits between the interior and exterior but, unlike doors, allow mainly visual rather than physical permeation.[75] By limiting the external world to a physically removed window-view, the observer on the inside can construct that outer world as a dominated space whose meaning is determined by their own privileged perspective. Such a position can be emphasised if the landscape is put at a further remove from the interior through a position of height, from which it can be surveyed in broad vista that, reminiscent of the eighteenth-century prospect view, suggests intellectual or material possession. In artistic, representational terms, if 'landscape is mediated by an interior', as Andrews argues, that interior becomes a determinant of the way in which the viewer perceives that landscape.[76] In that interior is a larger-than-life man, allied with the specificity and indelibility of cartographic lines; these recede into a distanced and miniaturised landscape indistinctly rendered with loose and curving lines. Its identity as 'Africa' is mediated through the man and the map, and aided by the symbolic placement of a palm tree indicative of a vague exoticism.[77]

The prominence of Livingstone's cartographic and exploratory roles meant that his autobiographical *Missionary Travels*, and subsequent biographies of him, were particularly suited to the insertion of printed maps, but such insertions were common across missionary monographs. Those in Stewart's 1903 *Dawn in the Dark*

[73] Adrian S. Wisnicki, 'Interstitial Cartographer: David Livingstone and the Invention of South Central Africa', *Victorian Literature and Culture* 37 (2009), 255–271 doi:10.1017/S1060150309090159.
[74] Recent scholarship has, however, highlighted the dependence of Livingstone on indigenous knowledge; Elri Liebenberg, 'The Cartography of Exploration: Livingstone's 1851 Manuscript Sketch Map of the Zambesi River', *Terrae Incognitae* 44:2 (2012), 89-109, DOI: 10.1179/0082288412Z.0000000007.
[75] Duncan P. R. Patterson, '"There's Glass between Us": A critical examination of "the window" in art and architecture from Ancient Greece to the present day', *FORUM Ejournal* 10 (2011), 1-21 (2).
[76] Andrews, *Landscape*, 108.
[77] Bar-Yosef, *Holy Land*, 110.

Continent and Elmslie's 1901 *Among the Wild Ngoni* were large, and produced in colour, folded into their covers, but many earlier biographical and autobiographical volumes contained more modest illustrative maps. As well as revealing European knowledge (and too often also ignorance), these maps served to chart the presence and progress of missionaries, and thereby promoted their cause. The LMS Literature Committee, which showed little concern for the content of illustrations in general, repeatedly brought up the production and dissemination of maps in its meetings throughout the second half of the nineteenth century. On 12 November 1866, for example, a series of maps of mission locations was proposed, which 'would materially contribute to exactness of information respecting them', and on 28 February 1899, it was decided that calico wall maps should be supplied to society workers, including Auxiliary secretaries.[78]

Explanation for the importance of providing 'exactness of information' on African missionary locations is found in part in the understanding of land in the context of a pathway to the Kingdom of God. As we have seen, the enlightenment of the heathen was for some a necessity for the second coming of Christ. Millennial theologies considered the conversion of the 'heathen' to be both a sign and a precondition of the eschaton, so the cartographical charting of missionary progress was also an indicator of progression towards the heavenly kingdom. The overlaying of spiritual and topographical geographies, reminiscent of Lake Nyasa's superimposition on the outline of Scotland in the Church of Scotland lantern image, will be returned to in relation to the *Pilgrim's Progress* in 6.5.

Much of the visualisation of these millennial and eschatological expectations appeared in human signs of struggle and hope epitomised by diachronic representations of the heathen-converted-to-Christian. The scant traditional dress of the 'native' is exchanged for the sartorial tokens of Western civilisation, and the viewer is left to surmise attendant transformations in moral and religious behaviour.[79] Each such incidence of conversion brought the Kingdom of God incrementally closer, and maintained eschatological hope. Representations of transformed land were similarly employed to indicate progress towards the

[78] London Missionary Society Literature Committee Minutes, World Council of Mission/London Missionary Society Archive, School of Oriental and African Studies, London.
[79] See for example Maxwell, 'Photography and the Religious Encounter', 59-60; Thompson, *Light on Darkness*, 144-146.

heavenly kingdom. The extent to which such expectations were understood as imminent is reflected in the Blantyre *Life and Works* newspaper which, in December 1894, published the following notice:

> We should like to remind our readers, although no one can ever accuse us of "preaching" that a great many good people upon earth believe the world may come to an end quite possibly before the year is out. We advise everybody therefore to "stand to their duns"[80] and advance their master's and the Master's interests in the light of such a possible termination to all service upon earth.[81]

Mapping the positions of global missions, and so charting the progress of Christian presence, participated in this expectant narrative. A Dr Pierson, reporting to the International Students' Missionary Conference in Liverpool in 1896, described how he 'extemporised a map of the world on the blackboard, to make clear the plan of God, as the Master General of the ages, in leading His hosts to the final assaults on heathendom'.[82]

The use of maps in this context highlights a preoccupation with travel as an element of the missionary endeavour. Indeed, Breitenbach argues that exploration and mission were two sides of the same enterprise of a civilising mission, and were sometimes (as with Livingstone) combined in the same person.[83] Maps were indeed integral to the work and promotion of foreign mission, but also to its inspiration. Rev. Fletcher, in his 1853 *The Autobiography of a Missionary*, cites among his earliest influences the map on the wall of his father's room, on which he liked to trace the missionary journeys of Paul. The effect, according to Daniels and Nash, of such popular visualisations of journeys undertaken by Christ and the evangelists was 'to substantiate a theme of peregrination, a form of exegesis which transformed the whole Bible into a highly spatial text, a set of stories which were also itineraries'.[84] The multiple definite spatial references provided by Holy Land landscapes is reflective of the same theme, indicating both particular situatedness and the inter-locational movements that mark out the biblical narrative.

[80] This possibly refers to the Scottish 'dùn' or hill fort, serving as an injunction to stay at their posts.
[81] *Life and Works,* December 1894.
[82] *"Make Jesus King." The Report of the International Students' Missionary Conference. Liverpool, January 1-5 1896* (London: The Student Volunteer Missionary Union, 1896), 25.
[83] Esther Breitenbach, 'Scottish Encounters with Africa in the Nineteenth Century: Explorers, Travellers, and Missionaries', in *Africa in Scotland, Scotland in Africa: Historical Legacies and Contemporary Hybridities*, ed. Afe Adogame and Andrew Lawrence (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 19.
[84] Daniels and Nash, 'Lifepaths', 452.

6.3.2 The Mission Field: Sword and Seed

A different kind of link between biblical text and landscape is found in the ubiquitous metaphor of the 'mission field'. The dual referents of the agrarian and military fields served well for the missionary arena, as the space in which the seeds of the gospel were sown, and the battle for souls fought. While militaristic imagery is found in scripture, secondary texts such as *The Pilgrim's Progress*, in which Christian is armoured and battles his way to the Celestial City, particularly propounded the idea of the life of faith as a battle. The conception of a binary struggle of Christian against heathen translated this theme into missionary discourse.

Agricultural imagery occurred significantly in Jesus' parables of land, sowing and harvesting, which taught about the reception of God's word and the practice of justice. While this gospel presence gave spiritual signification to agricultural practices in the devout imagination, for an increasing proportion of the British population, such labours were no longer the facts and rhythms of life they had once been. As seen in relation to art, and to the evangelical periodicals of the mid- to late-nineteenth century, one reaction to this was the idealisation of rurality. For missionaries taking to an African 'field' not shaped by urban shifts and industrialisation, the symbolism of agriculture altered, developing new significances.

The prominent display of Millet's *Angelus* at St Colm's College in Edinburgh has been remarked upon in the context of missionary training (6.1.5), and is relevant again here. It may on a number of levels be understood as symbolic of the work of the missionary and the conception of land and landscape. Firstly, it unites land, labour and piety. The peasants are humble both in status, and in religious practice. Although they are idle at the moment of prayer captured by Millet, these are working people, their labour evident in the tools laid down beside them. The Protestant work ethic was a guiding principle in the interactions between missionaries and indigenous communities; missionaries often accused African peoples of sloth, idleness, and indolence, and sought, as evidenced by Elmslie and Fraser, to instil a European sense of the value of labour.

The pattern of labour and rest, of religious practice and daily life, has a beauty and 'rightness' in the *Angelus* which, in distinction from the politics of

Millet himself, chimed with the popular idealisation of rurality. The labouring poor, when held within this structure of religious life, are portrayed as morally virtuous. Such a construction might again be contrasted with the model of the 'idle heathen'. Moments of pause are legitimised by their divine prescription or religious content. Thus, attendance at a church service or prayer meeting, or a time of personal prayer, is sanctioned within the structure of honest labour and humble piety promoted by evangelical mission.

In addition to its affirmation of work and prayer as central elements of Christian life, the *Angelus* provides a visual symbol of the missionary as spiritual labourer in the mission field. Through his or her own prayer and hard work, a missionary might reap a harvest of heathen souls for God, with the supporting structure of the church behind them on the horizon.

6.4 Exported landscapes in missionary encounters

Having considered the role of landscapes primarily in their missive capacity, with internal developmental functions for missionaries and explorers, we turn now to the second of Morgan's visual culture 'moments': exported images. Being those landscapes taken out physically or imaginatively, these were tools of the missionary trade, but were also objects and ideas with which indigenous people came into contact through the missionary encounter, and which could become sites of conflict. Exported landscapes overlap considerably with the missive images thus far considered, but differ in use and reception within a distinct African context. The Holy Land, Britain, and Europe, were the central exports, with views of the wider world, including Africa itself, occupying secondary positions. More specific ideas of land and landscape were also exported, for example those associated with burial practices and their connection with land-claims, and material constructions of landscape, particularly in the form of the mission station. These three issues – the consequences of missionaries' geographic centres, burial, and construction – will be considered in turn.

6.4.1 Centring and De-Centring

Britain, and the historical and eschatological Holy Land, functioned as dual centres to which British missionaries wished to draw African minds, souls, and

societies.[85] They were visualised in maps, and in drawings and photographs in books or on mission station walls, as well as in the constructions of missionary imaginations. If the foregrounding of these two locations is read generously, we may see an impulse towards inclusivity implied, in the sense that missionaries were attempting to bring Africans into a participatory relationship with these centres that represented civilisation and religion respectively. In part, this relationship was aspirational and conditional, yet there was also genuine, if paternalistic, belief in the benefit of bringing lands inscribed with meaning into the 'wilderness' of the African interior where Europeans could not readily see the inscription of sacred or human history on the land.

A negative consequence of this was the de-centring of the land of Africa for its indigenous inhabitants. Postcolonial African writers have given much consideration to the imposition of European language through education and politics, and its alienating effects, and I have argued that the same is true with regard to visual culture in general, and landscape in particular. There is a regrettable absence of evidence of this effect from indigenous voices of the period to 1910, which is unsurprising given the literary and publishing control exerted by Europeans (as with the *Autobiography of an African*). In lieu of such evidence, the reflections of later African writers, educated during the colonial era, but influential in the development of postcolonial thought, may be instructive. Such writers have argued in the context of language that colonised people have been made to reimagine themselves from the outside, through the eyes of Western literature. Igbo novelist Chinua Achebe (1930-2013) describes how, as an adult, he had to 'appropriate Africa from the remote, no-man's land of the mind where my first English primer had placed it for me'.[86] Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, in his *Decolonising the Mind*, describes from his own experiences in the first half of the twentieth century how a colonially educated child is 'made to stand outside himself to look at himself', and to see his own world 'as mirrored in the written languages of his coloniser', the experience of which he terms 'cultural alienation'.[87] Language is bound up with culture and identity, affecting cognitive

[85] On pilgrimage and centring, see Vida Bajc, Simon Coleman and John Eade, 'Introduction: Mobility and Centring in Pilgrimage', *Mobilities* 2:3 (2007), 321-329, doi:10.1080/17450100701633742.
[86] Chinua Achebe, *Home and Exile* (Edinburgh: Canongate, 2003), 32.
[87] Ngũgĩ, *Decolonising the Mind,* 17-18.

and perceptual understandings,[88] so to privilege a foreign over an indigenous language is to effect a change in the way people think about and interact with their own culture. So too with visual language, not least that of landscape. Indigenous knowledge across sub-Saharan Africa, though heterogeneous, has been described as sharing the characteristic of expressing 'the vibrant relationship between the people, their ecosystems, and the other living beings and spirits that share their lands', and it was this, prior to the advent of missionary and colonial education, that was communicated through indigenous education. The shift towards Western ways of knowing and seeing created 'a disjuncture and dissonance between the cultural and social-specific contexts of education and the actual practices and activities that take place in schools',[89] and between the land/scape and the people. This theme will be returned to in Chapter 7 in relation to the missionary use of magic lanterns.

6.4.2 Burial and Blood, Seed and Sacrifice

Whilst missionaries continued in their attempts to re-centre converts on Britain and Palestine, they were also becoming ever more deeply invested in the land of Africa, not least through the burial of their dead. In 1874, French geographer Henri Duveyrier (1840-1892) published 'an extraordinary map of African necrology' that marked the names and sites of European explorers who had died in pursuit of the exploration of the continent (figure 23).[90] The names Duveyrier displayed included those of missionaries and their associates. Mary Livingstone, who died in 1862, and David Livingstone, whose death occurred the year before the map was published, are both included, as is their nephew Robert Moffat who also died in 1873, whilst travelling from Zanzibar into the interior. The fallen were commemorated as figures of sacrificial martyrdom, that also fed into both the military and agricultural narratives of their enterprise.

[88] See Ngũgĩ, *Decolonising the Mind,* 14-16; also Ronald W. Langacker, 'Culture and Cognition, Lexicon and Grammar', in *Approaches to language, culture, and cognition: the intersection of cognitive linguistics and linguistic anthropology*, ed. Masataka Yamaguchi, Dennis Tay and Benjamin Blount (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

[89] Edward Shizha, 'Reclaiming Indigenous Cultures in Sub-Saharan African Education', in *Indigenous Education: Language, Culture and Identity*, ed. W. James Jacob, Sheng Yao Cheng and Maureen K. Porter (Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands, 2015), 302, doi:10.1007/978-94-017-9355-1_15.

[90] Driver, *Geography Militant,* 72; H. Duveyrier 'Afrique Necrologique de 1800 a 1874', Bibliotèque nationale de France, http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b7759096n/f1.item.

This stance is echoed in George Aitken's reflections on the missionary cemetery at Bandawe, British Central Africa, which held those 'who spelt sacrifice to the final letter and laid down all that a man can for his friend', and who had been 'stricken low on the battlefield'.[91] Furthermore, he held that if 'the blood of the martyrs be the seed of the church, their service needs no other tribute their sacrifice no other justification than that expansion of the Kingdom of God in Africa'.[92] Similarly, Lord Overtoun, reflecting upon successes that followed intense difficulties experienced in the establishment of the Livingstonia Mission on the shores of Lake Malawi, describes it in terms of 'seed sown in tears' that 'took root and sprang up'.[93] The petition presented in 1889 by Scottish church members demanding that the Shire Highland and Lake Nyssa regions should come under formal British influence, despite being recognised as Portuguese, was supported by the argument of Henry Drummond that 'the graves of British missionaries gave Britain a stronger claim than Portugal',[94] though Drummond himself allegedly 'confessed that he could never understand why Africa should not belong to the Africans'.[95]

Indigenous land-claims too were, and continue to be, linked to burial locations and practices: 'memory and identity', as Luig and Oppen state, 'were inscribed on the land by practices of settlement, worship and burial'.[96] Elmslie, describing his understanding of Ngoni beliefs in which ancestral spirits are associated with their earthly home, notes that when a village relocates, huts of the deceased are left standing in case the spirits want to return to them.[97] Ancestors are intimately linked with the earth in which they were laid, and the community in turn is linked to the land through them. Among the Yao, ancestor veneration in the nineteenth century centred on the grave-huts of chiefs, and participated in political and territorial claims as a locus of identity through rituals

[91] George Aitken, *Home in Heathen-Land: Sketches of Missionary Life and Work in British Central Africa* (Aberdeen: G & W Fraser, 1900), 25.
[92] Aitken, *Home in Heathen-Land*, 9.
[93] Lord Overtoun, introduction to *Among the Wild Ngoni: Being Some Chapters in the History of the Livingstonia Mission in British Central Africa*, W.A. Elmslie (Edinburgh & London: Oliphant Anderson & Ferrier, 1901), 9.
[94] Ballard, *White Men's God,* 168.
[95] Ballard, *White Men's God,* 168.
[96] Luig and Oppen, 'Landscape in Africa', 7.
[97] Elmslie, *Among the Wild Ngoni,* 71.

of supplication and religious memorialization.[98] The continuing importance of ancestral burial is evident in the context of land dispossessions that persist in post-apartheid South Africa. Among the Chego in Mpumalanga Province, for example, the presence of, and rights of access to, historic ancestor-burial sites became important in disputes over land entitlement, participating in both attempts to reclaim land, and the visualisation of those claims.[99]

Connections can be drawn between European and African land-claims through burial, but there remain significant differences in relation to theology and cultural world-view, expressed through distinct practices. Placenta burial, practiced in a number of African cultures, is particularly indicative of the deep differences in understandings between Africa and the West. By burying the placenta, the cyclical pattern of birth, life, and death is reinforced and celebrated, and through this rite, a person's physical and spiritual connection to the land of their birth is affirmed.[100] In the Siaya region of Kenya, Cohen and Odhiambo's anthropological research found that social status and acceptance were adversely affected if a person's placenta was buried outside the area, or even outside their homestead.[101] The consequences of breaking this link with the land of birth in turn affected decisions on where young people should settle and raise families, in order to preserve personal and communal identities. The linear world-view of the Western Christian wedded to the Enlightenment myth of perpetual progress might appear to leave little intellectual space for such views, but perhaps the missionaries' imagery of the interred as fertile seeds evokes, in some small sense, the cycle of life and death represented by placenta-burial. In terms of their signification for belonging in and possession of land, however,

[98] Edward A. Alpers, 'Towards a History of the Expansion of Islam in East Africa: the Matrilineal Peoples of the Southern Interior', in *The Historical Study of African Religion*, ed. T.O. Ranger and I.N. Kimambo (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1976), 175-176.
[99] Deborah James, 'Burial Sites, Informal Rites and Lost Kingdoms: Contesting Land Claims in Mpumalanga, South Africa', *Africa* 79:2 (2009), 245-7.
[100] Yvonne Lefèber and H. W. A. Voorhoeve, *Indigenous Customs in Childbirth and Child Care* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1998), 46-47; Molefi Kete Asante, 'Burial of the Dead', in *Encyclopedia of African Religions,* ed. Molefi Kete Asante and Ama Mazama (London: Sage, 2009), 20-22; Brown, 'Belonging in the Land', 51.
[101] David William Cohen and E.S. Atieno Odhiambo, *Siaya: The Historical Anthropology of an African Landscape'* (Nairobi: Heinemann Kenya, 1989), 25.

human burials perceived as close or disparate were the focus of intense cultural, religious, and political dispute.[102]

6.4.3 Material constructions

Missionary burials were significant in linking missionary identities and their cause with the land, but the material memorialisation of the dead also contributed to a new visual landscape. Christian cemeteries became integral parts of the mission stations that were established across southern Africa, both as models of Christian and civilised virtue, and as familiar spaces for missionaries to call home.

At Kuruman station, Robert Moffat's house was seen as an inspirational 'little paradise',[103] embodying the ideal of a mission house that modelled a 'better kept, purer and sweeter' version of surrounding locals' homes.[104] This perspective of the superiority of the missionary home extended to the perception of the station as a social and cultural, as well as a religious, centre.[105] Aitken describes himself as being at the still centre of his mission house, watching the 'diorama' of life passing before it, which situates him as an observer. The imaginative and representational construction of missionary homes as pure and certain was, however, disrupted by a more 'tentative' reality.[106] Their presence within the landscape was often isolated and dependent, and although providing a platform for viewing life, death was also very much in view. Aitken suffered the loss of both his missionary brother and his wife, as a result of which his view turned from the bustling life to the front of his house to the stillness of the cemetery to the rear, observing that the two, in reality, 'do not lie far apart'.[107]

In the face of this mortal uncertainty, mission stations were constructed, as far as possible, as solid reminders of the perceived spiritual and cultural dominance of the Christian West. Typically centred on a church, a school, and a mission house built in square European style, they literally shaped a new Christian

[102] Matthew Schoffeleers and I. Linden, 'The Resistance of the Nyau Societies to the Roman Catholic Missions in Colonial Malawi', in *The Historical Study of African Religion*, ed. T.O. Ranger and I.N. Kimambo (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1976), 268-9.
[103] McAleer, *Representing Africa,* 146-7.
[104] John Mackenzie, *Ten Years North of the Orange Rive: A Story of Everyday Life and Work Among the South African Tribes from 1859 to 1869* (Edinburgh: Edmonston & Douglas, 1871), 466; quoted in McAleer, *Representing Africa,* 143.
[105] Aitken, *Home in Heathen-Land,* 19.
[106] Aitken, *Home in Heathen-Land,* 25.
[107] Aitken, *Home in Heathen-Land,* 27, quoted in Brown, 'Belonging in the Land, 42.

landscape. The building of stone houses and churches, as in Lovedale and surrounding stations in South Africa, endeavoured to give a certain solidity to the mission hub. For Donald Fraser, considering the construction of the new station at Loudon, this went beyond the shape and materials:

> These [architectural] plans immediately changed our entire outlook. We no longer aimed at simple amateurish square walls with grass roofs, but saw how with a little effort houses could be erected with some architectural features, and all related so that the station would delight the eye, and increase the order and ease of our work.[108]

As consideration of aesthetics in architecture and settlement layout to 'delight the eye' increased, it became natural to give greater thought to interior decoration, and resulting demand for church furnishings was met by home supporters. A marble font was sent to Blantyre from St Andrews, Scotland, in 1893, followed three years later by a stained glass window of the baptism of Christ, while at nearby Domasi station a lectern decorated with 'a most beautifully carved cross' was received from supporters in 1895.[109] These liturgical accessories contributed to a British sense of ecclesial propriety, and also to the construction of a place like home, with new centres of mission and worship modelled firmly upon the old. They contributed too to the creation of a new moral and cultural order in line with Western Christian values.

The establishment of this new order, however, was not so far advanced as missionaries wished, and the mission station, as religious and cultural hub, was often central primarily to the missionaries themselves, as they struggled to convert and to sustain Christian communities.[110] Nevertheless, visual and textual narratives of the stable, civilised mission station achieving religious and cultural conversion were imported back to Britain. Figure 24, of the mission station at Kuruman, South Africa, is typical of the visual constructions that accompanied stations' material establishment. Tenuous settlements built, as with Elmslie among the Ngoni, on sufferance of local chiefs, or by their concession, became importable landscape images depicting firm foundations for colonial, humanitarian and divine advancement. British missions physically altered the

[108] Fraser, *Winning a Primitive People,* 220.
[109] Life and Works in British Central Africa; see also Brown, 'Belonging in the Land', 42.
[110] Ballard, *White Men's God*, 105.

landscape in southern Africa through architecture and cultivation[111] and, as Luig and Oppen rightly add, the landscape also shaped the people.[112]

In the relatively settled context of a mission station, many missionaries found that the symbolism of agriculture became a reality. For those working in rural areas, often on the fringes of the world as it was known to the West, physical labour on the land was an experience many missionaries had to undergo. As well as promoting labour as a godly virtue in contrast to idleness, working the land was a physical enactment of the message of civilisation. The creation of gardens, the cultivation of plants on European principles, and the clearing of bushland all modelled the 'progress' that it was hoped the indigenous population would embrace, as well as marking out distinctively missionary space.[113]

In South Africa in the 1820s, this 'progress' was enforced in the establishment of the Kat River Settlement. In land disputed by the Khoisan (or Khoekhoe) and Xhosa people, colonial authorities in the Cape designated Kat River to be settled by the Khoisan, allegedly as a means of emancipating them from oppression. In reality, the Settlement was to function as a buffer zone,[114] or 'hard frontier'[115] between the colony and the incursions of the Xhosa. Furthermore, as Robert Ross describes, 'the only way in which the Khoekhoe could acquire access to land, and thus achieve a degree of independence and escape the thraldom of colonial farms, was through the establishment of the smallholdings of the Kat River'.[116] In other words, they had to turn from the model of cattle and hunter-gathering to settled cultivation in order to possess land.

The constructed edifices of civilisation embodied in European-style buildings, gardens, and settlement lay-outs creates both a model of home to which the missionary can belong, and an aspirational model to which converts must conform in order to belong to the Christian community. 'Peaceful homes and

[111] McAleer, *Representing Africa,* 139
[112] Luig and Oppen, 'Landscape in Africa', 16.
[113] This drive to create a Western-style garden was brilliantly parodied in Barbara Kingsolver's *Poisonwood Bible* (Faber & Faber, 2008).
[114] Robert Ross, 'The Possession and Dispossession of the Kat River Settlement', in *Indigenous Communities and Settler Colonialism*, ed. Zoë Laidlaw and Alan Lester (Palgrave Online, 2015), 89, http://www.palgraveconnect.com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/pc/doifinder/10.1057/9781137452368.0010.
[115] Ballard, *White Men's God*, 75-78.
[116] Ross, 'Kat River Settlement', 89.

cultivated land' were seen by missionaries and their supporters as witnesses to the 'triumph of the Gospel of God', and images of such were imported home as evidence.[117]

6.5 The pilgrim missionary and *The Pilgrim's Progress*

Geography features as a significant framework within which missionary work was conceived in the nineteenth century, in terms of place and, perhaps more so, of journeying and travel, whether from life to death and eternal life, or within the earthly realm. The missionary travels of the Apostle Paul, and of David Livingstone, provided models for this conception, being invoked in sermons and treatise on the justification of mission, and literally mapped out as inspiration for ongoing missionary migrations. The practical association of mission and exploration in relation to areas previously uncharted by the West cemented this connection, and operated in distinction from later missionary work, which took place within already established, 'known' locations. This religious journeying evokes the idea of pilgrimage; the prevalence of John Bunyan's 1678 allegory *The Pilgrim's Progress* in mission stations and in missionary imagination deepens this association, and calls for exploration of the links between mission, pilgrimage, and the visual presentation of the text.

Pilgrimage is popularly understood as a journey, especially a long one, to a sacred destination.[118] Precisely what is and is not incorporated within the definition, in terms of activities, locations and motivations, and what meanings and purposes surround acts and experiences of pilgrimage is, however, a matter of continued debate and exploration. There is a renewed interest at present both in undertaking acts of pilgrimage, and in the study of pilgrimage, from anthropological, theological, phenomenological and other perspectives.[119] Given the long and heterogeneous history of pilgrimage, the scope for such studies is vast, as is the possibility of a multiplicity of valid and enlightening discourses. While a full survey of approaches cannot be tackled here, a summary view will

[117] Overtoun, 12.

[118] For example, *dictionary.com*, 'pilgrimage (*n.*)', accessed 24 November 2015, dictionary.reference.com/browse/pilgrimage; *the free* dictionary, 'pilgrimage (*n.*)', accessed 24 November 2015, www.thefreedictionary.com/pilgrimage.

[119] Avril Maddrell, Vernoiuca della Dorra, Alessandro Scafi, and Heather Walton, eds., *Christian Pilgrimage, Landscape and Heritage: Journeying to the Sacred* (London: Routledge, 2015), 2.

serve to place pilgrimage studies within the scope of this particular exploration of mission.

Building on the popular definition, pilgrimage has been seen as a quest – primarily for spiritual renewal or transformation, but also for physical healing – in which both the journey and the destination participate in the progression towards *metanoia*, or transformation.[120] Viewing pilgrimage in this way reflects the theoretical shift in recent years away from the idea of 'sacred spaces' proposed in the 1950s by Mircea Eliade, and towards understanding pilgrimage as practice, and situating it within wider discourses of landscape and mobility. Coleman and Eade's *Reframing Pilgrimage: Cultures in Motion* makes this move by taking the focus away from the 'sacred place' as a location set apart from the mundane, everyday world as Eliade, and Turner & Turner after him, conceived it, and focusing on 'sacred travel'. Motion – 'embodied, imagined, metaphorical' – is for Coleman and Eade a pervasive and instructive element of pilgrimage.[121] The 'sacred journey' maintains a link between the place of origin and return, and the pilgrim's destination, which is lost in the discursive centrality of the 'sacred place'.[122]

Recent works continue to expand on these broader conceptions of pilgrim movements and interactions. Maddrell et al's 2015 *Christian Pilgrimage, Landscape and Heritage: Journeying to the Sacred* orients itself around the importance of the landscape within which, and through which, pilgrimage occurs, and the performative, 'embodied experience' of the journeying pilgrim.[123] Gale, Maddrell and Terry's *Sacred Mobilities* of the same year draws on increased interest in the social scientific category 'mobility' to explore a broader spectrum of journeying than the traditional conception of pilgrimage might admit, including sports pilgrimages and legend trips.[124]

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[120] Linda Kay Davidson and David M. Gitlitz, *Pilgrimage from the Ganges to Graceland: An Encyclopedia* (Oxford: ABC-CLIO, 2002), xvii.
[121] Simon Coleman & John Eade, 'Introduction: Reframing Pilgrimage' in *Reframing Pilgrimage: Cultures in Motion*, ed. Simon Coleman and John Eade (London: Routledge, 2004), 3.
[122] Coleman and Eade, 'Reframing Pilgrimage', 11.
[123] Maddrell et al, *Christian Pilgrimage*, 10-11.
[124] Rob Irving, 'Legend Landscapes: Sacred Mobilities in the "Legend Trip" Tradition', and Avril Maddrell et al., '"At Least Once in a Lifetime": Sports Pilgrimage and Constributions of the TT Races as "Sacred" Journey', in *Sacred Mobilities: Journeys of Belief and Belonging*, ed. Avril Maddrell, Alan Terry, and Tim Gale (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015).

A missionary journey, travelling not towards but away from the centres of Christian virtue, appears on one level to be the antithesis of the pilgrimage journey. The pilgrim by definition moves towards the sacred and gains spiritual strength through the process of travel, as well as in reaching the destination. The nineteenth-century missionary, especially the one to sub-Saharan Africa, travelled not to established sites of Christian significance, but to lands understood either as *tabula rasa* or as the enemy of Christian virtue, populated by barbarous heathens.

The superficial distance between the missionary and the pilgrim may, however, conceal a significant convergence of motivations, experiences and practices. Wayne Fife argues towards such a commonality based on his study of British missionaries in Papua New Guinea in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, positing that there are sufficient connections to unite the two practices at the very least in 'a metaphorical likeness'.[125] The two activities intersect at a number of points. Both have a(n often lengthy) journey integral to their completion, which Fife identifies as 'effortful movement', the hardship of which in itself contributes to the characterisation of the destination as sacred.[126] Both also involve a physical movement away from the everyday, to a state of separation or otherness.[127] The journey and the separation entail a renouncing of comforts and privileges usually enjoyed, and to a limited extent blur the societal boundaries that hold at home between people of different classes, backgrounds and nationalities. Both types of journey are undertaken under the motivation of spiritual and religious commitment and a desire to effect personal change through the encounter between self and other, and the creation of an often temporary spiritual community, or *communitas*.[128]

Nonetheless, differences between pilgrimage and foreign mission are classificationally significant. Robert Stoddard defines pilgrimage, from a

[125] Wayne Fife, 'Extending the metaphor: British Missionaries as Pilgrims in New Guinea' in *Intersecting Journeys: The Anthropology of Pilgrimage and Tourism*, ed. Ellen Badone and Sharon R. Roseman (University of Illinois Press, 2004), 156.
[126] Fife, 'Extending the Metaphor', 143.
[127] Separation is an important element in Victor Turner and Edith Turner's anthropological study of pilgrimage, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture: Anthropological Perspectives* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978); see also Robert Stoddard, 'Defining and Classifying Pilgrimages', *Geography Faculty Publications* Paper 2 (1997), 44, http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/geographyfacpub/2.
[128] Turner and Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage*, 250-251.

geographic perspective, in terms of four key categories: movement, motivation, destination and magnitude.[129] Missionary journeys arguably conform to two – movement away from the local environment, and a religious motivation, which fit also with Fife's central mission-pilgrimage commonalities – but fail to meet the criteria of travelling to a sacred destination, or that of 'magnitude of movement', which refers to the numbers of people travelling a given route, or towards a specific destination. Only relatively small numbers of missionaries were active, and they did not follow set routes. However, Stoddard explicitly discounts the interior, spiritual 'journey of the soul' from his definition, 'because such is not the phenomenon of physical travel that is manifested geographically'.[130] If mission were to be admitted to the framework of pilgrimage, it would be through the very admission of this interior definition. The movement of the missionary away from their locality, motivated by a desire for personal and interpersonal religious transformation, occurs in the direction not of a physically sacred destination, but towards the ultimately sacred, heavenly one of the Kingdom.

Interpreting physical travel in terms of a spiritual destination overcomes the issue of magnitude, by aligning the missionary traveller not with others journeying in the realm of spatial geography, but with fellow Christians moving towards the Kingdom of God. In contrast with traditional pilgrimage, particularly that centred on Jerusalem as the geographical locus of eschatological hope, such pilgrims journeyed to the centre as individuals within a spiritual movement of magnitude. In evangelical Protestantism, a more nebulous approach developed in which a movement away from the centre(s) was initiated in order to draw 'the ends of the earth' in towards it in preparation for, fulfilment of, and participation in the coming Kingdom. Millennial expectation was not universally a feature of missionary theology, but a sense of progress towards the eschaton through the activity of mission can frequently be found in accounts of missionaries and their societies.

This leads on to a further distinction between the pilgrim journey and the missionary one, regarding the very scope of the quest for salvation, and arising from the importance of interiority. While pilgrimage involves elements of

[129] Stoddard, 'Defining and Classifying Pilgrimages', 41-60.
[130] Stoddard, 'Classifying Pilgrimages', 43.

encounter, commonality and *communitas*, it is ultimately an individual quest for spiritual, and perhaps, in the case of sites of healing, physical *metanoia*. Mission, in contrast, has a more ambitious aim that could be interpreted as both inclusive and imperialist: that of universal salvation. A pilgrim could conceivably achieve the internal purpose of their journey without meaningful encounter with others along the way, whereas a missionary cannot function missiologically without outward-reaching interpersonal encounters.

The conflation of physical and spiritual criteria to force mission into categorical identity with pilgrimage seems neither necessary nor, ultimately, persuasive. Nevertheless, it is admissible to grant that the two activities at least form 'subsets of an as yet undefined and much larger spiritual phenomenon'.[131] Furthermore, in relation to nineteenth century missionaries to Africa, the connectivity between pilgrimage and mission was evidently recognised by practitioners and commentators, and as such must be taken seriously.[132]

Nineteenth-century evangelical Protestantism was, as we have seen, uncomfortable with the sanctification of specific places, and the ritual journeying to them was criticised as redolent of 'Romish' tendencies, and potentially idolatrous. Even the expression of more secular reverence for places, in their connection to historical or literary figures, was treated with care. While sounding a cautious tone with regard to the visiting of such sites in the current 'age of locomotion', *The Sunday at Home* in 1858 nonetheless concedes that imagining 'spots almost sanctified by the memories of the pious and the venerable; spots associated with devout remembrances and labours of usefulness' may prove to be 'serviceable to the cause of religion'.[133] Referring specifically to the imaginative journeying facilitated by its own visual-textual medium, this sentiment of qualified acceptance could also be extended to more thoroughly visual forms. The panorama in particular lent itself to the experiencing of these 'almost sanctified' places, although the appending of spectacle to the presentation of the image at

[131] Fife, 'Extending the metaphor', 143.
[132] North American association of mission and pilgrimage was particularly strong, reflecting the historical memory of the Pilgrim Fathers as missionaries as well as settlers, seen for example in *The American missionary,* periodical of the American Missionary Association; also Henry Smith's *Gospel Husbandry; or The Pilgrim in the Mission Field* (London: Macintosh, 1866).
[133] *The Sunday at Home 1858.*

times threatened to turn an educational, morally and intellectually beneficial encounter into one judged by moral guardians as mere sensory entertainment and 'bad taste'.[134]

Despite discomfort with, or even disapproval of, pilgrim journeys, there was clearly a desire even among evangelical Protestants to participate in aspects of pilgrimage experiences, especially in relation to the Holy Land. Similar difficulties are found today, when despite renewed vigour in Protestant pilgrimage activities, there remain theological and practical tensions in relation to their enactment.[135] In the mid-nineteenth century, scientific or exploratory travel, and Thomas Cook era tourist travel, became surrogates for the pilgrim desire in Reformed Christianity. Through the reading of travel literature, and the viewing of illustrations, paintings and panorama exhibitions, it was acceptable to undertake vicarious pilgrimage excursions, as with the proliferation of publications on the subject of Holy Land sites in the early decades of the nineteenth century.

Another way in which the desire for pilgrimage was satisfied amongst Nonconformist, anti-ritualist Protestants was through spiritual pilgrimage. This, as we saw above, sidesteps the problematic nature of the physical 'sacred site' as a destination by substituting a heavenly terminus. The most prominent vehicle for imagining the spiritual pilgrimage was *The Pilgrim's Progress*. Revived by the Evangelical movement in the late eighteenth century, this text steadily increased in popularity through the nineteenth century, particularly amongst Nonconformists. As the century wore on, Bunyan began also to receive growing, if reluctant, acceptance from the established Church. The unveiling of a statue of Bunyan in Bedford in 1874 was indicative of his movement inwards from the pious margins of Protestantism, and a commemorative window in Westminster Abbey in 1912 cemented his status.

In the United States, *The Pilgrim's Progress* narrative was transformed in 1851 into a moving panorama. Initially displayed in Broadway, New York, copies

[134] Ralph Hyde, *Paranomania! The Art and Entertainment of the 'All-Embracing' View* (London: Trefoil Publications & Barbican Art Gallery, 1988), 32. From diorama reviews in *Morning Chronicle* 31st August 1824, and *Repository of Arts* 3rd series, 4 1824, 41.
[135] Heather Walton, 'Theological Perspectives on Christian Pilgrimage', in *Christian Pilgrimage, Landscape and Heritage: Journeying to the Sacred*, ed. Avril Maddrell, Vernoiuca della Dorra, Alessandro Scafi, and Heather Walton (London: Routledge, 2015), 32.

were made and toured the U.S. over the subsequent two decades to broad popularity and acclaim. Recently rediscovered and restored, this *Bunyan Tableaux* would originally have been accompanied by music and lighting and have taken two hours to view, with approximately 60 scenes covering an expanse of eight by 800 feet of cotton cloth.[136] The adaptation of a visual genre hitherto associated with more traditional landscape or cityscape views to illustrate a narrative is perhaps a divergence, but the centrality of landscape to the Pilgrim story in fact lent itself rather more naturally than tangentially to the panoramic mode. While expressly an allegorical dreamscape, written in verse and prose, Bunyan's work is also very visual, its imagery being captured in illustration sets rivalling in number the plethora of its editions.[137] Many of these illustrations are primarily concerned with the capturing of characters, both the protagonist, Christian, and the multitude he encounters on his way. The anchoring of the story in an imagined landscape, itself grounded in a pseudo-biblical one, provides another aspect for the illustrator to translate into visual imagery, and one also taken up by artists independently of the written text.

The structuring of the tale as a pilgrimage necessitates a landscape setting within which the action can take place. The lands through which a traveller passes form an integral part of the pilgrim experience, acquiring spiritual meaning by virtue of the questing traveller's passage.[138] Christian's spiritual journey is itself charted through the literary device of a physical passage, the locations of which provide substance for the reader, and material for the artist. An article on 'The City of Destruction' in *The Sunday at Home* in 1862 is accompanied by a full page drawing of the pilgrim journey, introduced as 'a chart of the way from the City of Destruction to the Celestial city, as described in the "Pilgrim's Progress"'.[139] In line with Daniels' and Nash's analysis of the 'lifepath' as a tool and metaphor in

[136] Thomas Hardiman Jr., 'The Panorama's Progress: A History of Kyle and Dallas's *Moving Panorama of Pilgrim's Progress*', in *The Painters' Panorama: Narrative, Art, and Faith in the Moving Panorama of Pilgrim's Progress*, by Jessica Skwire Routhier, Kevin J. Avery and Thomas Hardiman Jr. (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 2015), 89.

[137] Nathalie Collé-Bak, 'Spreading the Written Word through Images: The Circulation of The Pilgrim's Progress via its Illustrations', *XVII-XVIII. Revue de la societe d'etudes anglo-americaines des XVIIe et XVIIIe siecles. Diffusion de l'ecrit dans le monde anglophone. Spreading the Written Word in the English-Speaking World* (2010), 223-246, doi: 10.3406/xvii.2010.2490.

[138] Mobility, movement, and the journey are understood to be important to the practice and experience of pilgrimage, not only the 'centre' or destination: see Maddrell et al, *Christian Pilgrimage*, and Coleman and Eade, 'Reframing Pilgrimage'.

[139] *The Sunday at Home 1862,* 486.

bibliographic geographies, the visualisation of the journey is seen here as an important exercise for the spiritual traveller, as it is for the physical one. It provides a geographical metaphor for individual progress, just as the incremental completions of African maps charted a supposed global progression towards civilisation.

Although rooted in Bunyan's peregrinations in Bedfordshire, much of the landscape through which Christian travels is imaginary and metaphorical. The Slough of Despond, Hill Difficulty, and so on, are sites lacking in geographical specificity, which could be imagined referentially in physical terms, but quite clearly point to spiritual trials. Elsewhere, the boundaries between physical and spiritual landscape are less clearly defined. Early in the narrative, Christian allows himself to be side-tracked by Mr. Worldly-Wiseman, and ends up beneath a forbidding mountain at the top of which lies Legality's house, close to the town of Morality. This precipitous mount, which threatens to crush Christian, is identified as Mount Sinai. Its function is symbolic, standing for the legalistic religion that cannot lead to salvation, but which rather threatens to destroy. But alongside its functionality is the real physicality of a Mount Sinai,[140] and the presence of Mount Sinai as a feature of sacred or scriptural geography.

For missionaries, two major strands bind them to *The Pilgrim's Progress*. Firstly, missionaries and their commentators could situate their travel experience within the allegorical landscape of Bunyan's dream world, and thereby interpret both the terrain they traversed and the spiritual progression their efforts signified. Sometimes, as with Arthur Lewis' 1890 biographical history *George Maxwell Gordon; the Pilgrim Missionary of the Punjab,* the 'pilgrim missionary' signifier is explicit.[141] Similarly, in 1884 George Smith described Count von Zinzendorf, founder of the missionary Moravian communities in Europe and America, as having 'covenanted with the Lord to cast all ideas of rank away, and to be ready, pilgrim-staff in hand, to go to the heathen and preach the gospel to them'.[142] The link between the renouncing of worldliness and the pilgrim endeavour is in this case

[140] The location of which is disputed.
[141] Arthur Lewis, *George Maxwell Gordon; the Pilgrim Missionary of the Punjab: A History of His Life and Work, 1839-1880* (London: Seeley, 1890).
[142] George Smith, *Short History of Christian Missions from Abraham and Paul to Carey, Livingstone, and Duff* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1884), 129.

clearly made. In the *Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East* much earlier in the century, in 1826, Rev. J.N. Pearson refers to 'the Missionary Pilgrimage'[143] and earlier still the CMS's *Missionary Register* from 1816 describes 'the pain and toils of the Missionary Pilgrimage'.[144]

In the recurrent combination of the pilgrimage and the missionary endeavour, physical trials of geographical journeying and their attendant spiritual consequences are implied. The use of *The Pilgrim's Progress* as a template is understandable here, given the geographical transferability written in by Bunyan. As Bar Yosef remarks in his study of the Holy Land in English culture, for nineteenth century Christians, 'the real Jerusalem is above, or in our hearts, or – as Christian learns in his long journey in *The Pilgrim's Progress* – just around the corner, a Zion in Bedfordshire'.[145] The physical trials of Christian's journey are important, and are geographically and topographically emplaced through the narrative devices of hills, valleys, swamps and caves. At the same time, Christian himself experiences his journey as a series of displacements or, in N.H. Keeble's word, 'departures'.[146] Textual and visual placement was achieved through the prevalence of the written Bunyan, but also the accompaniment of illustrations, and independent artistic interpretations.

Secondly, the employment of *Pilgrim's Progress* as an extra-biblical resource for evangelism linked missionaries with the text and its visualisations in a didactic, educational sense. The centrality of the text to missionary evangelism is evidenced by its early and repeated translation into indigenous languages. Isobel Hofmeyr, who has worked extensively on the transnational after-life of the *Progress,* estimates that eighty translations have been made into African languages alone.[147] Bishop Colenso of Natal, translator of a Zulu edition, and Rev. Tiyo Soga, who translated Book 1 into his native Xhosa, are two significant figures among a host of nineteenth century Bunyan translators on the African continent.

[143] Church Missionary Society, *Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East*, Volume 26, (Church Missionary House, 1826), 162.
[144] Church Missionary Society, *Missionary Register 1816*, 270.
[145] Bar-Yosef, *Holy Land*, 11.
[146] N.H. Keeble, '"To be a Pilgrim": constructing the Protestant life in early modern England', in *Pilgrimage: The English Experience from Beckett to Bunyan*, ed. Colin Morris and Peter Roberts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 251.
[147] Isabel Hofmeyr, *The Portable Bunyan: A Transnational History of* The Pilgrim's Progress (Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2004), 12.

Many translations, particularly later in the century as printing and distribution became easier, were illustrated, first with reproductions of British drawings, and later with versions specifically created for African audiences.

As well as visual-textual presentations of the story, the *Progress* appeared in missionary evangelists' more performative repertoire in the form of lantern slides. The Magic Lantern Society lists 37 different version of *Pilgrim's Progress* slide sets between c.1870 and 1912.[148] While many images were repetitions of illustrations that appeared in book editions, others were produced exclusively for lantern shows, as where life models were employed for a York & Son set used by the Band of Hope temperance society. In this example, the landscape setting is a generic 'wilderness' that is isolated from both the place of origin (City of Destruction) and the destination (Celestial City). This stage-set, by lacking geographic specificity, acquires greater transferability than geographically rooted depictions, for example where the Celestial City resembles the earthly Jerusalem. This transferability is more evident in later slides of the York & Sons set, where the backdrop for Sinai and that for Christian's battle with Apollyon are identical. Such devices also resonate with a tendency to depict 'African scenery' in generic, stereotypical terms, where any wild, impenetrable landscape can stand for the Dark Continent as a whole.

This same tendency recurs in a slightly different form in the illustrations to a 1902 Ndebele edition of *The Pilgrim's Progress*, in which landscape is repeatedly glimpsed as no more than a distant prospect. Behind the specific locatedness of the foregrounds of many images is the crude outline of a wider vista, alluding to the next stage, or the extent, of the ongoing journey. The situation of 'landscape' beyond the immediate action of the depicted scene also serves to highlight the inability to view in panoramic form the physical or the spiritual lie of the land, as it must be travelled to reach its pilgrim goal. Indeed, most images in illustration and slide format are episodic and isolated in this way, and can be taken individually as emblems of specific moral or spiritual virtues or vices. This contrasts with depictions such as *The Sunday at Home*'s map in which the entire progress can be held in one gaze, the topography analysed and understood within a single pictorial configuration. It may be that this distinct emphasis in

[148] Listed on the Lucerna web resource http://www.slides.uni-trier.de/set/index.php?id=3006789.

illustrations for an African market reflects an understanding of African perceptual capacity such as that expressed by Coffin, or in more generous terms as an attempt to tailor images to be relevant to their intended audiences.

6.6 Conclusion

Physical, political, spiritual, and representational lands and landscapes had far-reaching significance in the self-conception of British missionaries as it developed from the exploratory era of the first half of the nineteenth-century, to the imperial period from the 1880s into the twentieth century. This significance can be seen in the visual culture that informed mission, and was then exported by it, in imagination and interpretation as much as in the form of visual materials. The value of land was inscribed in cartographic representations, but also in the marks of cultivation in the soil itself, the carving out of Europeanised Christian spaces in the material construction of mission stations, and in the graves of the missionary dead. At times, the land inscribed was not the same as the land/scape in the missionary (or missionary-influenced) imagination, creating situations of lostness, dissonance, and dispossession. Inaccurate mapping, misunderstandings of the interactions between people and the land, and representational constructions of landscape at odds with the reality they purported to represent, all contributed to fraught and contradictory relationships between missionaries and the land of their sojourns, and the disruptions of existing relations for the people they encountered.

7. Imprinting lessons on the retina of the heart: magic lanterns in missionary practice

[T]he people who sat in darkness have seen a great light, and for those who sat in the region and shadow of death light has dawned.
(Mt 4:16)

Amongst the panoply of optical devices available to the Victorian eye, the magic lantern holds a place of particular importance in missionary visual culture.[1] Having encountered it in previous chapters in relation to education, landscape, and *The Pilgrim's Progress*, it can now be investigated in greater detail. Beginning with a consideration of current literature relevant to lantern slide use, in religious and missionary contexts in particular, this chapter will go on to outline the history of the magic lantern as a technological innovation and medium of entertainment and education, in secular and missionary spheres. An explication of the symbolic, theological functioning of the magic lantern as a content-object itself will follow, alongside a discussion of its place in wider missionary visual culture. The final sections of the chapter will then consider two extant slide collections in southern Africa, at Livingstonia in Malawi, and at the Dutch Reformed Church Archive at the University of Stellenbosch, South Africa, focusing on key areas of visual content, and exploring their relation to themes identified in other media.

7.1. Navigating sources

The magic lantern was a pre-cinematic (some would argue proto-cinematic) mass visual medium, hugely popular and prevalent in Europe and North America, but also globally in sites of Euro-American influence.[2] There has been a growing scholarly interest in lantern slides over recent years, as visual sources have been afforded increasing evidential merit across academic disciplines. Despite this interest, and the vast number of slides still in existence in public and private collections, cataloguing remains patchy, and there is a lack of scholarship addressing the processes of slide design, production, and circulation, as Sarah

[1] Flint, *Visual Imagination*, 4-5.
[2] Critical of the relegation of the lantern to the history of cinema is Francisco Javier Frutos Esteban, in 'The content analysis and organization of cultural repertories: The case of magic lantern', *American Journal of Social Communciation* 63 (2008), 265-276, http://www.ull.es/publicaciones/latina/_2008/21_30_Salamanca/Francisco_Javier_Frutos.html.

Dellmann has recently highlighted.[3] Archives and museums, Dellmann argues, are caught in a 'vicious circle' whereby a lack of adequate documentation of lantern slides leads to a lack of knowledge of the material, which in turn contributes to archivists' failure to prioritise the registration, let alone the cataloguing, of slides.[4] Without cataloguing, and with a relatively small number of images currently digitised, the metadata necessary for identifying individual slides is lacking, as 'the identification of objects often cannot be achieved without comparing multiple objects across several institutional collections'.[5] Even where slides are labelled (and many are not), degradation and relabelling can limit the usefulness of this information in tracing them. Furthermore, many slides were distributed by multiple organisations, and some images recycled for inclusion in different sets, further complicating attempts to chart their production and circulation.

Added to this challenge is a paucity of literature on the use of lantern slides in foreign mission practice. Of rare primary relevance is T. Jack Thompson's 2012 monograph *Light on Darkness: Missionary Photography of Africa in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*, which contains a section on the Livingstonia collection, and use of the slides by missionaries. Thompson offers an overview of the collection's broad and eclectic content, to which we will return below, whilst acknowledging the current lack of archival cataloguing. His brief analysis of the range of material, from the geographical to the comic, is insightful on the parallels between foreign mission and home use of slides by missionary societies; my work draws on and develops his.

Elsewhere, literature focuses on distinct aspects of magic lantern use and importance. Its performative aspect is addressed by a number of scholars. Jonathan Crary has emphasised the ambiguous juxtaposition inherent in the projection of photographic lantern slides: the temporal fixing of images in photography is countered by their transient display, whereby each single image appears briefly, then is removed altogether from view.[6] The characterisation of

[3] Sarah Dellmann, 'Beyond and with the object: assessing the dissemination range of lantern slides and their imagery', *Early Popular Visual Culture* 14:4 (2016), 340-358.
[4] Dellmann, 'Beyond and with the object', 341.
[5] Dellmann, 'Beyond and with the object', 342.
[6] Jonathan Crary, *Suspensions of Perception: Attention, Spectacle, and Modern Culture* (London: MIT Press, 2001), 55-56.

the lantern show as a succession of fleeting images is suggestive of a passive audience, before whom pictures pass without effect save on the eye and, so the lecturer hopes, upon the mind. This characterisation is challenged, however, by alternative emphases on lantern shows' active, participatory performativity. Joss Marsh considers the role of the lantern show as a Victorian story-telling medium, and the way in which the transitional effects of the 'dissolving view' affected the presentation of stories through projection, and in which audiences participated outside the show through encountering literary techniques that reflected those of the lantern.[7] Not only literary, but also scientific performances were enacted through the medium of the lantern in the nineteenth century. Koen Vermeir argues that this was the case in the early days of the lantern, in the seventeenth century, when shows could function as performative demonstrations of the metaphysical principles 'of a magical universe, permeated by occult and marvellous phenomena',[8] while Iwan Rhys Morus finds a more modern form of scientific performance in Victorian Britain.[9] Its place as an entertainment medium, performed by showmen and, as we will see in more detail below, interacting with audiences, is also investigated, for instance by Michael Mangan in his *Performing Dark Arts*.[10] In reality, it is likely that there were elements of active and passive reception, depending upon the nature of the show (an educational lecture versus a service of song incorporating communal hymn singing), and of the audience.[11]

A number of studies approach a more static aspect of the lantern in its relation to photography. The two forms were often associated during the period under investigation, as the magic lantern's increase in popularity coincided with the greater availability and economy of photographic slides. Thompson's own study of the Livingstonia slides comes within a volume addressing wider issues of the place of photography in the African missionary project. In Virginia-Lee Webb's 1997 article on missionary photography in the South Pacific, the anthropological

[7] Joss Marsh, 'Dickensian "Dissolving Views": The Magic Lantern, Visual Story-Telling, and the Victorian Technological Imagination', *Comparative Critical Studies* 6:3 (2009), doi: 10.3366/E1744185409000822.
[8] Koen Vermeir, 'The magic of the magic lantern (1660–1700): On analogical demonstration and the visualization of the invisible', *The British Journal for the History of Science*, 38:2 (2005), 127-159, doi:10.1017/S0007087405006709.
[9] Iwan Rhys Morus, 'Seeing and Believing Science', *Isis* 97:1 (2006), 101-110; 'Worlds of Wonder Sensation and the Victorian Scientific Performance' *Isis* 101:4 (2010), 806-816.
[10] Michael Mangan, *Performing Dark Arts: A Cultural History of Conjuring* (Bristol: Intellect, 2007).
[11] On the passive/active elements of religious lantern presentations, see Schaefer 'Illuminating the Divine', 4.

and scientific importance of the images taken by missionaries is explored. Two of the figures she identifies as significant in the region, George Brown (1835-1917) and William George Lawes (1839-1907), used the magic lantern as a 'lecture tool' for European and Pacific audiences.[12] In reference to the projection specifically of ethnographic 'before' and Westernised 'after' conversion images, Webb argues that the magic lantern not only enabled Brown and Lawes 'to spread the divine words of Christianity in their talks, but made it possible for them literally to project the divine light of photographic images of converted people on their [European] audiences'.[13] The intention was to indicate missionary progress and success to home supporters, in much the same way as the images of mission stations considered in 6.4.3, but also to present to Pacific communities aspirational images of the benefits of undergoing such a conversion themselves. Furthermore, Webb points briefly to the particular suitability of the magic lantern as a medium through which to represent the prevalent 'light shining in the darkness' trope of foreign missionary endeavour. This 'iconography of light', explored more closely in relation to the medium of photography itself in James R. Ryan's *Picturing Empire,* will be returned to in 7.4 below.[14]

Photography itself has been implicated more widely in the mechanisms of colonialism, by Ryan, and others including in Landau & Kaspin's 2002 edited volume *Images and Empires: Visuality in Colonial and Postcolonial Africa*.[15] Linked in part to the ethnographic objectification of the 'savage' Other in such anthropological photographs as those of Brown and Lawes, colonial photography also participated in the literal circulation of the colonists' view – of other peoples and lands, and of themselves. However, despite its contribution to narratives about race and the relative values of cultures, the connections between empire and photography are not exclusively negative. Jane Lydon's 2016 monograph, *Photography, Humanitarianism, Empire*, argues that photography played an important role in the development of humanitarian sensibilities within the global networks of empire, evoking through the representation of ordinary human experience as well as situations (as with slavery) of suffering, empathy and fellow-

[12] Virginia-Lee Webb, 'Missionary photographers in the Pacific Islands: Divine light, *History of Photography* 21:1 (1997), 19, doi: 10.1080/03087298.1997.1044371319.
[13] Webb, 'Divine light', 19.
[14] Ryan, *Picturing Empire*, 30.
[15] See also Hight and Simpson, *Colonialist Photography.*

feeling. In the case of atrocities committed against indigenous people in the Belgian Congo under the rule of King Leopold III, graphic photographs of victims were disseminated especially through the medium of the magic lantern to raise the profile and call for change.[16]

In relation specifically to mission, much of the work done on magic lanterns approaches the subject from the perspective of a home audience, whether those subject to the education and evangelism of home missions, or recipients of illustrated talks put on to stir up (financial) support. For instance, Schaefer's recent article 'Illuminating the Divine' highlights Protestant Christianity's willingness to embrace lantern technology, and its suitability as a medium for expressing the divine.[17] Donald Simpson's 'Missionaries and the Magic Lantern' focuses on group portraits of a party of CMS missionaries to Uganda in 1895 to be shown to home supporters, and mentions also the conversion of the life of David Livingstone into the subject of many sets of slides. Analyses of specific missionary collections in Britain include that of the Christian Brethren at John Rylands Library special collections; the Centre for the Study of World Christianity's Church of Scotland collection at the University of Edinburgh; the National Trust for Scotland's David Livingstone Centre at Blantyre, Scotland; and the (Wesleyan) Methodist Missionary Society collection held at the University of London's School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS).[18] The focus in all these cases is on the traffic of images from foreign mission locations to home supporters; on pictures *of* foreign subjects (and often their objectification or stereotyping), rather than on pictures taken *to* them.

Investigations into the use of the lantern as a tool for taking pictures *to* are fewer, but it is this moment of export with which I am primarily concerned. In addition to Thompson on the case of Livingstonia, and the brief examples put forward by Webb, a 1994 article by Paul Landau, 'The Illumination of Christ in the

[16] Thompson, *Light on Darkness,* 229-235; David Maxwell has also highlighted the ambiguous relation of mission photography to indiginous culture and aesethetics in the Belgian Congo of the 1920s and 1930s, in his 'Photography and the Religious Encounter', 74.
[17] Schaefer, 'Illuminating the Divine'.
[18] The University of Manchester, John Rylands Library, http://luna.manchester.ac.uk/luna/servlet/view/search/what/Lantern%2Bslides?q=christian+brethren+lantern+slides; the International Missionary Photography Archive (IMPA) has digitised copies of slides from the Centre for the Study of World Christianity collection, and the SOAS Methodist Missionary Society collection, and can be accessed at http://digitallibrary.usc.edu/cdm/collections/collection/p15799coll123.

Kalahari Desert', is of direct import, though its subject falls outside the time period of the present study. Landau uses the particular case of LMS missionary Ernest Dugmore, working in Bechuanaland in the 1920s, and committed to the magic lantern as an evangelical and metaphorical tool. Though seemingly an atypical missionary character, dismissed by some within the LMS as being of low intelligence and prone to emotional outbursts, Dugmore's passion for the lantern - the 'lamp of life' - led him to record its use in some detail in his diaries, along with responses from his audiences that ranged from 'weird' and 'hysterical', to a thirsting for knowledge of Christ.[19]

Elsewhere, perhaps the most commonly-cited example of magic lantern use is that of David Livingstone, which is certainly relevant but is not necessarily typical.[20] Livingstone was working in a relatively early period; the fact that he favoured the lantern at that time is in itself interesting. He was also itinerant and engaged in early encounters prior to familiarity with the Christian message. Use increased as mission to Africa grew, equipment and slides became cheaper and more effective, and settled stations had greater capacity to store and display slides. As local people associated with, or coming into contact with, missionaries became more familiar with Christianity and its technologies, the wonder of the lantern would have abated, and a different relationship between the missionary and the viewer would have developed. Livingstone will certainly feature in the following discussion, but in pursuit of a broader view of the magic lantern as a missionary visual medium.

7.2 Development of the magic lantern

The magic lantern had already enjoyed a long history by the dawn of the Victorian age, but was expanded by new technologies and new audiences from the mid-nineteenth century to become a popular, and increasingly well-regarded, medium. It was, in the words of the cinematic historian Laurent Mannoni, 'never

[19] Landau, 'Illumination of Christ', 26-28.
[20] e.g. Donald Simpson, 'Missions and the Magic Lantern', *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* (1997), 14.

so much in demand, so widely sold, so much *a la mode* as in the second half of the nineteenth century'.[21]

Human fascination with visual trickery, illusion and entertainment has made various forms of mysterious image production enduringly popular. The use of light to make illusory images is ancient, going back to the shadow play of early societies.[22] Placing objects between a source of light and a surface onto which shadows would fall is a simple way to create forms that, especially when the originating object is obscured, can both frighten and entertain. Such forms were not the preserve of the West, as the shadowy procession of Plato's allegory of the cave, and ancient Eastern shadow puppetry from China, India, and Indonesia attest. Shadows have the advantage that they can easily be made to move, presenting life-like motion even if the figures themselves lack detail, and the flickering flames of early light-sources would give even static images a sense of motion.

The *projection* of images advances beyond the silhouettes of the shadow show, and inverts its premise by employing light rather than shade as the primary tool. The technology of the lantern projector is traceable to at least the seventeenth century, when the development of optical lenses enabled projected images to be sharpened.[23] Christiaan Huygens is widely credited as the inventor of what he called simply a Lantern, in 1659, and he is known to have disseminated the technology as he travelled across Europe.

The very earliest evidence of Huygens' Lantern reveals not only static projection, but moving images. His 1659 sketches of a series of images of a skeleton removing and replacing its head are clearly intended to be shown in succession as an early form of animation. This pursuit of movement persisted through the three centuries of its popular use, achieved variously through use of

[21] Laurent Mannoni, *The Great Art of Light and Shadow: Archaeology of the Cinema*, trans. Richard Crangle (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2000), 265.
[22] Magic Lantern Society, 'Introduction to Lantern History', accessed 13 September 2016, http://www.magiclantern.org.uk/history/history01.php..
[23] Current scholarship, of which Mannoni is at the forefront, affirms Huygens as the likely inventor. Jesuit scholar Athanasius Kircher was long credited with its invention, e.g. W.I. Chadwick, *The Magic Lantern Manual* (New York: Scovill, 1886), 12. This error is sometimes perpetuated today, e.g. Bob Rose, 'Projection', in *The Focal Encyclopedia of Photography*, ed. Michael R. Peres (Oxford: Elsevier, 2013), 803; Simpson, 'Magic Lantern', 13.

levers, rackwork, slipping slides, ratchets and pulleys.[24] Despite such innovative work, and the rapid spread of the Lantern across Europe, Huygens himself was dismissive of its value. He saw it as a frivolous distraction from the serious scientific works on which he had built his reputation, and was keen to dissociate himself from the Lantern, which he considered only of novelty value.[25] It is fortunate that others saw its potential, and continued to refine and develop its design, such that its popularity and prevalence grew over subsequent decades, and continued into the eighteenth century.

Eighteenth-century uses of the magic lantern were characterised first by poor, itinerant showmen, and then by ghastly, ghostly phantasmagoria. Projectionists even offered services to the bereaved that resurrected loved-ones in ghostly form in private showings, with artists recruited to paint their likenesses at short notice.[26] By the mid-1800s, however, the medium had been re-deployed as a tool for public and institutional education. Susan Horton identifies the decades of the 1820s and 1830s as the transitional period for this shift, such that by 1840, the magic lantern was established as a scientific, rational tool of education rather than a projector of sensationalist entertainment. This idea was not wholly new, a precursor being the proposal by Jean-Phillipe Gui le Gentil, Comte de Paroy, for a lantern-based education for the Dauphin, Marie-Antoinette's son and the Crown Prince of pre-revolutionary France.[27] Though Huygens never recognised the potential for the lantern to display his science, in the Victorian age it was clearly viewed as a key tool in displaying a wealth of scientific knowledge. 'Slides, illustrative of chemistry, electricity and magnetism, physiology, and all the other ologies, are now to be had in wonderfully complete sets', remarks the author of an 1889 magic lantern guide with satisfaction.[28] This marked change in emphasis resulted from a multiplicity of factors – technological, social and ideological.

[24] Marsh, 'Dissolving Views, 333.
[25] Mannoni, *Light and Shadow,* 36-37.
[26] The pseudonymous projectionist 'Philidor', operating in Paris in the 1790s, is known to have conducted such necromantic shows; Mannoni, *Light and Shadow*, 141-144.
[27] Mannoni, *Light and Shadow,* 84-85.
[28] Anonymous member of Chemical Society, *The Magic Lantern: Construction and Use* (London: Perken & Rayment, 1889), 13.

The development of the lime light, which enabled larger projections that could be shown to mass audiences, was one important factor. The earliest lanterns of Huygens and his contemporaries relied upon candles or oil lamps to provide a light source, which could only project an image of small size within an intimate setting (which also gave rise to more prurient uses of the lantern in the seclusion of men's private rooms).[29] The 'badly smelling and messy colza-oil lamps' of early-nineteenth century toy lanterns, which also gave a poor quality of light, were superseded by mineral oil and paraffin lights that were both cleaner and clearer, though these too were only suitable for projection in small venues.[30] The ignition of hydrogen and oxygen gases in proximity to a ball or cylinder of lime, however, was found to cause the lime to glow with a more intense brightness, making clearly focused projections in large halls practicable. This lime light could be achieved domestically, but the light required for larger projections required not domestic gas, but containers of both gases delivered at an even pressure, so was specialist equipment realistically only suited to public venues.

Concurrent social changes in the 1820s and 1830s are characterised by the so-called 'march of intellect' of an increasingly literate and informed working and artisan class.[31] People were hungry for knowledge, and its acquisition in communal entertainment venues, lit by the same lime light that illuminated theatrical stars, was an appealing means of acquiring it. Horton argues that optical shows were moreover 'one of the few acceptable forms of entertainment' for Evangelicals, who were cautioned against light entertainment, but encouraged to pursue useful knowledge: 'You could watch those magic lantern shows with an easy conscience if what was "really" happening was that you were being educated in and edified by the wonders of modern technology'.[32] This increased respectability was aided by the move from the hidden projectionist of the phantasmagoria, to the open, front-of-screen projection of later shows. Marsh also highlights the importance of the dissolving view in this rehabilitation of the lantern show for respectable

[29] Mervyn Heard, 'A Prurient Look at the Magic Lantern', *Early Popular Visual Culture* 3:2 (2005): 179-195.
[30] Anon, *Magic Lantern,* 7-8.
[31] Brian E. Maidment, '"Penny" Wise, "Penny" Foolish?: Popular Periodicals and the "March of Intellect" in the 1820s and 1830s,' in *Nineteenth-Century Media and the Construction of Identities*, ed. Laurel Brake, Bill Bell and David Finkelstein (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2000), 104-5.
[32] Susan R. Horton, 'Were they having fun yet? Victorian Optical Gadgetry, Modernist Selves', in *Victorian Literature and the Victorian Visual Imagination*, ed. Carol T. Christ and John O. Jordon (London: University of California Press, 1995), 14-15.

audiences: 'the dissolving-view lantern-show became a Victorian metaphor for transformation, truth-telling and spiritual regeneration'.[33]

A further factor enabling the growth of the magic lantern was the availability of good quality, affordable slides, facilitated by developments in photographic technology. The anonymous author of *The Magic Lantern* in 1889 credited the advent of photographic slides with the rise of the lantern, 'especially since it became possible to use photographs instead of hand-painted pictures in the lantern, at a fraction of the expense necessary when artists were employed in this work'.[34] The combination of lime light and advances in slide manufacture meant that poor itinerant lanternists became creatures of the past. People could stage their own shows at home easily and affordably, or travel to public venues for larger spectacles produced by new, higher-class versions of the travelling showman.

With the elevation of the lantern show from entertainment peddled by the poor or displayed to terrify, to respectable and often educational amusement, came an increasing emphasis on the accompaniment of words. Commercial slide sets were commonly supplied with set texts to interpret the visual material, and make presentation easier. They were formatted variously as lectures, services of song, poetry, stories, or simple prompts that could be expanded or adapted to suit the audience. They were produced in individual leaflets, or in larger volumes containing multiple texts. Such combinations of text and image were described by Paroy in the 1790s, who advocated for explanatory pamphlets that would provide valuable detail to educational establishments wanting to use lantern slides. It is not clear whether such material was produced at that time: Paroy's project with the Dauphin was abruptly halted by the outbreak of revolution in 1792. By the mid-nineteenth century, however, these were commonplace. As slides began to be manufactured on a mass, commercial scale in the 1820s and 1830s, and more so after the introduction of photographic slides, texts came to be relied upon to make their content accessible to wide audiences. As the content itself became more focused on education and information, the necessity for texts also increased. While no description might be required to accompany an image of a man comically

[33] Marsh, 'Dissolving Views', 335.
[34] Anon, *Magic Lantern*, 13.

removing his hat, an amateur lecturer could not be expected to be sufficiently expert to narrate a series on astronomy or botany without some guidance.

Some readings catered explicitly for this amateur market. A reading on Canada (n.d., but in or after 1884) gives preliminary guidance to projectionists on how to practise and deliver the lecture. This includes the suggestion that a bell should be rung to indicate when the projectionist should move to the next slide. Given the slight delay necessary either in dissolving the view between slides in a biurnal lantern, or in manually changing slides in a single lantern, the text indicates with a [B] precisely when the bell should be rung so that the change can be effected 'without the awkward pause that so often spoils the smoothness of the whole entertainment'.[35] That such directions were deemed necessary suggests that amateur entertainments were of variable quality. Foreign missionaries delivering shows would have had no such expectations of professional execution, but the presence of these sorts of standards and recommendations at home indicates the seriousness with which some, at least, viewed the medium.

In Europe and America, illustrated lectures given with the aid of lantern slides did indeed become serious commercial ventures, as well as tools for the dissemination of particular messages or idea, as with missionary or temperance talks. Geographical or travel subjects were popular, and the availability of notes and slides enabled projectionists and lecturers to expound on sites and places of which they had no prior knowledge: 'Set lectures are to be purchased, at small cost, on very many subjects, or can be arranged from tourists' guide books, which can be got of the whole world'. William Hole, as we saw in Chapter 5, had a lantern show of his *Life of Christ*, which he toured himself with his own personal address, but which was also available as a commercial set with readings provided.

It was not only readings that could easily be amended, but also the slides themselves. Unlike the later cinematograph, slides were endlessly moveable and exchangeable, enabling individual lanternists to customise sets by adding, removing, or reordering slides. This flexibility of the lantern slide medium – what Schaefer describes as its 'malleability' – contributed to a popularity amongst religious groups that endured well beyond the advent of cinema, with new

[35] *Canada* (London: York & Son, in or after 1884), 4.

combinations of slides endlessly possible to communicate different messages of different lengths to distinct audiences.[36]

By the beginning of the twentieth century, the potential of the lantern show to participate in broader imperial aims was also being exploited, for example with the establishment in 1902 of The Visual Instruction Committee of the Colonial Office. The Committee produced lantern slide sets first to educate British children about empire, then to educate imperial subjects about Britain, the latter taking the form of visual journeys from their own country to Britain, and a tour around Britain itself.[37] This was intended to create a sense of unity across the empire: 'the Empire can only be held together by sympathy and understanding based on widely diffused knowledge of its geography, history, resources, climates and races', but 'children in any part of the Empire would never understand what the other parts were like unless by some adequate means of visual instruction'.[38] In this policy of differentiated universalism, the circulation of a stock of images to construct a sense of unity based on the centrality of Britain, the visual was employed as a key tool. The enterprise was short-lived, ceasing with the outbreak of the Great War, but is illustrative of the important place of the lantern show in cultural and educational work and policy by the turn of the twentieth century.

7.3 Missionary uses

For European and American home missions, as for public education, slide shows were used as a means to teach, in particular on moral and religious subjects. They were not designed only to impart information, but were engaged in attempts to alter behaviour, primarily amongst the poor. The Salvation Army, established in London in 1865, made widespread use of the lantern for biblical storytelling and temperance propaganda in Britain and in Europe, including in the Netherlands around the turn of the century.[39] The Church Army, established in 1882 by Church of England minister Wilson Carlile to minister to London's poor, engaged in similar

[36] Schaefer, 'Illuminating the Divine', 19, 22-23.
[37] Ryan, *Picturing Empire,* 186-188.
[38] H.J. Mackinder, *India: Eight Lectures Prepared for the Visual Instruction Committee of the Colonial Office* (London: George Philip, 1910), v.
[39] Daan Buddingh, 'A Peep into History: The 19th-Century Magic Lantern in the Netherlands', in *Realms of Light: uses and perceptions of the magic lantern from the 17th to the 21st century*, ed. Richard Crangle, Mervyn Heard and Ine van Dooren (Lantern Society, c2005), 123, based on evidence from Friesland newspapers from 1893-1910.

work, and had its own lantern department. Carlile embraced music and images in his large open-air and church meetings, utilising the magic lantern to project 'both sacred and secular imagery', and the textual elements of the traditional service, including hymns and prayers.[40] Dedicated temperance societies such as the Band of Hope employed slides to caution against the degrading effects of drink, highlighting the moral and economic advantages of pious abstinence.[41] The primary audiences for all these organisations were the poor, illiterate, and children, who were in the case of alcohol deemed to have the potential power to change parental behaviour.

Lantern shows were also a widely used method of communication between foreign missionary societies and their home supporters.[42] Lectures on the work of missions could be illustrated in a visually arresting way, which enabled the un-travelled to experience something of the mission field with their own eyes. Missionaries on furlough are known to have conducted such lectures themselves. A Mrs Hillyard, recalling her Yorkshire childhood in the early decades of the twentieth century, recounted that:

> Money was short, but each Sunday evening I was given a penny for the Magic Lantern Show. It was part of the glamour of the evening to get there early and watch the gas-lamps lit and the heavy curtains drawn. The speaker was often a missionary on leave from Africa or India. The bright burner was lit in the big black projector, and the slides clicked across the screen while the speaker told us about them.[43]

In a similar way to Hole's use of the lantern show, missionaries who had returned home could promote their own causes in their own words, and also make commercial sets available, through which the same images could be shown by any projectionist. The popularity of such displays increased with the fame of the subject. The ubiquity of sets on the subject of David Livingstone, especially following the publication of *Missionary Travels* in 1857, evidences both his

[40] Frank Gray, 'Missions on Screen: the Church Army and its Multi-Media Activities', in *Beyond the Screen: Institutions, Networks and Publics of Early Cinema*, ed. Marta Braun et al (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2012), 27-28; see also *Bethlehem: a devotional lantern service on the early life of Our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ* (service of song: Newton & Co., 45 slides, 1911), Lucerna Magic Lantern Web Resource, accessed 14 August 2017, www.slides.uni.trier.de/set/index-slide.php?id=3005939..

[41] Horton, 'Were they having fun yet?', 14.

[42] Breitenbach, *Scottish Encounters,* 20; Simpson, 'Magic Lantern', 13.

[43] Quoted in Kylee Barry, Nicky Davenport, Jim Marwood, Judy Miles and Wendy Vander Schan, *Magic Lantern-Slide Show* (Hobart: Tasmanian School of Art Gallery Publications, 1979), 9.

individual fame, and the importance of the magic lantern as a medium through which missionary promotion was undertaken.

Given the popularity of lantern shows amongst home missionary groups and the promoters of foreign mission to home audiences, it is little surprise to find that they were also employed by missionaries abroad. It was no great leap of the evangelical imagination to apply this same tool to the foreign mission field, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa where indigenous peoples were typically seen as not only poor and illiterate, but as childlike too. Many missionaries had experience on the home front prior to deployment abroad and exported evangelistic techniques as well as attitudes to their new settings. Robert Laws, who led the Livingstonia mission from 1877 until his retirement in 1927, had worked at the Glasgow City Mission 1873-5. Coinciding with the revival inspired by the visit of American evangelists Moody and Sankey to Britain, Laws' work included involvement in revival meetings in the city.[44] Glasgow itself was home to a number of important slide manufacturers and distributors, including J. Lizars, Gardner & Co., Prescott & Co, and W.W. Scott, slides from all of which made their way in time to Livingstonia. While all but Lizars post-dated Laws' period in Glasgow, his association with the mission, and familiarity with the populist evangelical events of Moody and Sankey which incorporated preaching, singing, and visual aids, could well have influenced the development of lantern slide use in Malawi.

In a way, the magic lantern was both technique and attitude, as it not only gave an opportunity for evangelism (the details of which will be explored below), but also served as material affirmation of the technological superiority of Europeans. Hastings has clearly expounded the strong link between Christianity and British power, success, and technology made by both missionaries and Africans: 'The Victorian Protestant was intensely sure that Britain was the high heaven of human achievement and that the explanation lay in her Protestant faith'.[45] The magic lantern was explicitly included amongst these achievements, and was 'a favourite missionary possession'.[46] The lantern's importance as a missionary aid can be observed in the effort dedicated by some missionaries to

[44] W. P. Livingstone, *The life of Robert Laws of Livingstonia; a narrative of missionary adventure and achievement* (New York: George H. Doran, 1923), 28-35; Hamish McIntosh, *Robert Laws: Servant of Africa* (Carberry: The Handsel Press, and Blantyre, Malawi: Central Africana Ltd: 1993), 10-11.
[45] Hastings, *Church in Africa*,275.
[46] Hastings, *Church in Africa,* 275; see also Ryan, *Picturing Empire,* 30-31.

carrying it with them. Projection equipment was heavy and bulky to transport, glass slides fragile, and means of illumination dangerously combustible, yet these items were carried long distances across difficult terrain. Quaker missionary Samuel Baker relied upon the lantern whilst travelling in India: 'on long periods of itineration, he often used a magic lantern to illustrate the "Life of Christ"',[47] Ernest Dugmore's itinerant mission to the Kalahari Desert centred upon the lantern he carried with him,[48] and David Livingstone records that of only four travelling-boxes carried from Linyanti to Loanda in 1853, one contained a magic lantern:

> We carried one small tin canister, about fifteen inches square, filled with spare shirting, trowsers, and shoes, to be used when we reached civilized life, and others in a bag, which were expected to wear out on the way; another of the same size for medicines; and a third for books, my stock being a Nautical Almanac, Thomson's Logarithm Tables, and a Bible; a fourth box contained a magic lantern, which we found of much use. The sextant and artificial horizon, thermometer, and compasses were carried apart.[49]

The magic lantern was included – along with clothes, medicines, the Bible, and navigational tools – among the very essential items for Livingstone's missionary endeavour. As Thompson notes, he had many more items brought to Linyanti from Cape Town, via the established mission station at Kuruman, but left them behind as unnecessary to his onward mission,[50] believing that 'the art of successful travel consisted in taking as few "impedimenta" as possible'.[51]

While Livingstone used the lantern extensively, it was important to him to stress to his audiences that neither the machine nor the images it projected were supernatural. Just as viewers of phantasmagorias in Europe could be led to believe apparitions of the dead were appearing before them, African audiences with no knowledge of the mechanism of projection sought other-worldly explanations for the pictures they saw.

> Shinte was most anxious to see the pictures of the magic lantern […] The first picture exhibited was Abraham about to slaughter his son Isaac;

[47] Thomas O'B Baker, 'Samuel Baker (1856-1899)', in *Historical Dictionary of the Friends (Quakers),* ed. Margaret Post Abbott, and et al (Plymouth: Scarecrow Press, 2012), 36-37.
[48] Landau, 'Illumination of Christ', 26-28.
[49] Livingstone, *Missionary Travels,* 250.
[50] T. Jack Thompson, 'David Livingstone's Magic Lantern, United Kingdom' in *Trophies, Relics and Curios?: Missionary Heritage from Africa and the Pacific*, ed. Karen Jacobs, Chantal Knowles, and Chris Wingfield, (Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2015), 95.
[51] Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, 230.

> it was shown as large as life, and the uplifted knife was in the act of striking the lad; the Balonda men remarked that the picture was much more like a god than the things of wood or clay they worshipped […] The ladies listened with silent awe; but, when I moved the slide, the uplifted dagger moving toward them, they thought it was to be sheathed in their bodies instead of Isaac's. 'Mother! Mother!' all shouted at once, and off they rushed helter-skelter, tumbling pell-mell over each other, and over the little idol-huts and tobacco-bushes: we could not get one of them back again.[52]

The movement of the knife, effected by use of a slipping or lever slide, exacerbated the sense of otherness for the audience. Following this much-quoted episode, Livingstone was at pains to show the chief Shinte how the magic lantern functioned, in order to dispel fear and communicate a different kind of wonder from that of the supernatural: the technological power of the white man.[53] Elsewhere, he linked intelligence with acceptance of explanations of the lantern's rational workings, and the 'symptoms of dread' evinced in the Chief Kawawe, already represented as devious, affirmed the association of poor character with fear and ignorance.[54]

Despite Livingstone's rationalist protestations, an essential impression of magic remained tied to the lantern image; an impression affirmed rather than diminished by the evangelical message he tried to convey through it.[55] To communicate messages of the spiritual and divine through a magical device, that could make ethereal, incorporeal figures appear and move, was to project an otherworldly subject through a seemingly-supernatural medium. Though its effects were overtly countered by verbal information, the magic lantern's use as a visual aid was motivated precisely by the effects it was known to cause. Emotional responses, as well as intellectual assent, being important within evangelicalism, missionaries used this 'magic' not for its own sake, but as a tool for drawing people in, or attempting to redirect the emotions it invoked towards their God. Mangan describes magic as 'boundary work', and the conjuror as 'operating on or near the boundaries of a culture's knowledge'.[56] The appearance

[52] Livingstone, *Missionary Travels,* 322.
[53] This passage is quoted for example in Landau, 'Illumination of Christ, 29; Schaefer, 'Illuminating the Divine', 20; Simpson, 'Missions', 14.
[54] Livingstone*, Missionary Travels*, 468.
[55] Hastings, *Church in Africa,* 275.
[56] Mangan, *Performing Dark Arts*, 76.

of animated apparitions conjured up at the hands of missionaries in 1850s Africa operated on, or beyond, this boundary for the cultures of Shinte and Kawawe. Indeed, the very appearance of evidence of knowledge from beyond the boundary was a cause of wonder, whether curious or fearful. So Livingstone reported that another Chief, Katema, feared both his medicinal skills and his magic lantern as 'the result of art' or witchcraft.[57]

The lantern was also a more prosaic object of enjoyment, excitement, and entertainment, particularly as it became recognised and established in Africa, the boundary of knowledge shifting to accommodate it. Lantern shows encouraged people to engage with missionaries in some way, paralleling the use at home of entertainment and recreation as a means to draw the British working class to religion.[58] As Livingstone recalled, the lantern show was the 'only mode of instruction [he] was ever pressed to repeat'.[59] Even without overt displays of fear or wonder, the reception of images could be unexpected. A report of a lantern exhibition at Domasi mission station, British Central Africa (Malawi), in 1892, celebrates its amusement as well as educational value, though it 'questions whether the audience were as much amused at the pictures as the exhibitor and his assistant were amused at the various ways in which that audience expressed its feelings'.[60] Similarly, in 1864 at Mlanje Station, George Robertson reported that, as part of a programme of New Year games, a magic lantern show was put on: 'when a goodly number again assembled to gaze upon the pictures, and strange it seemed to us that the comic slides drew forth remarks of wonderment while the serious ones produced shrieks of laughter'.[61] While there is a tone of mockery in these reports, there is a parallel here with the incomprehension of British audiences faced with 'displayed peoples', as in London exhibitions of a Zulu ('Kaffir') marriage dance in the 1850s, or of a group of San engaged in 'animated' (but incomprehensible) conversation for the entertainment of the audience, which occasioned both inappropriate laughter, and fascinated

[57] Livingstone, *Missionary Travels,* 348.
[58] Gerald Parsons, 'A Question of Meaning: Religion and Working Class Life', in *Religion in Victorian Britain Volume II: Controversies*, ed. Gerald Parsons (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), 74.
[59] Livingstone, *Missionary Travels,* 299.
[60] *Life and Work: British Central Africa 46*, December 1892, 7.
[61] *Life and Work: British Central Africa 72*, February 1894, 7.

incomprehension.[62] That communities in Africa, faced with equally incomprehensible displays by white men, also laughed at points deemed inappropriate, and were fascinated if uncomprehending, unites the two instances as moments of intercultural opacity.

Even as lantern use increased within settled missionary communities, approbation of the medium was not unqualified, as debate over its status as a missionary tool indicates. While it was evidently a highly prized and desirable item, its purpose and place could be contested. In an example from West Africa, but from within the context of Scottish Presbyterian mission, William H. Taylor found that magic lantern shows were considered 'too frivolous for use during the school day' in an East Nigeria mission, and that they should therefore be reserved for evening entertainment, shown for a mixed audience in the school house.[63] 'Inappropriate' responses, and perhaps also historical associations with low-grade entertainment, likely contributed to a desire to control the contexts within which the lantern show should be used.

For some missionaries working in southern Africa, the serious educational value of the magic lantern was recognised, as evidenced by the prevalence of natural history, astronomy, and geography slides, alongside biblical content, in the extant collections at Livingstonia and Stellenbosch. An analysis of these in 7.6 below will illuminate further both the content and usage of these image

7.4 Symbolism, theology and function

Image content is significant in understanding the role of the magic lantern, but the very medium itself also contributed to its prominent position within missionary practice. Image, as John Harvey argues, can communicate religious messages not only propositionally, but through emotion and through the senses.[64] Though Harvey focuses on modern, and particularly abstract, art in this regard, nineteenth-century art and image too experimented with what Constance Classen terms 'multisensory aestheticism'.[65] Pre-Raphaelite attempts to depict sound,

[62] Sadiah Qureshi ,'Peopling the landscape: Showmen, displayed peoples and travel illustration in nineteenth-century Britain', *Early Popular Visual Culture* 10:1 (2012), 24, doi:10.1080/17460654.2012.638804.
[63] Taylor, *Mission to Educate,* 84.
[64] See Harvey, *Bible as Visual Culture*.
[65] Classen, *Color of Angels*, 111.

smell, taste, and touch (Dante Gabriel Rossetti's *Veronica Verones* (1872) and *The Blue Bower*, or John Everett Millais' *The Blind Girl* (1856) for instance), sensory theatre performances incorporating sound, colour, and smell, and the displays of John Martin's apocalyptic canvasses are all examples of this aesthetic mingling of the senses.[66] Though these are very evident examples of the multisensory aesthetic, Mitchell's claim that '[a]ll media are mixed media', with no such entity as pure visual media, should also be recalled.[67] This mixed mediality extends from the image itself to the surrounding context within which it was to be viewed, as Harvey has indicated through his statement that a '"frame" of reference' – the framing of an image, or its positioning within a space – becomes part of the sensory experience of that image, and thus participates in its meaning.[68]

The viewer of magic lantern images was certainly exposed to a multisensory experience. The central visual elements were accompanied by the sounds of a human voice interpreting them, the mechanical noises of slide-changing, perhaps the hissing of gas, and the sounds of the audience. The smell of the fuel used to create the projecting light, even the scent of accumulated bodies gathered to share the display, contributed to the ambient experience. The warmth of the room, from flame and body heat, and the ambience of the interior or exterior space in which the show took place, all participated in the whole. As Tanja Luckins observes of 1850s lantern shows in colonial Australia, the evocation of remembered or imagined sensory experiences through projected images could also act powerfully on audiences; in Melbourne during the gold rush, migrants from Europe and North America were affected by scenes of shipwreck that recalled their own perilous journeys, or by the image of a coffee house that called up the fragrance of fresh coffee.[69]

In the specific context of missionary lantern displays, difficulties arose through the absence of such remembrances and prior connections on the part of

[66] Classen, *Color of Angels*, 110-111.
[67] Mitchell, 'Showing seeing', 170.
[68] Harvey, 'Framing the Word', 46-47; see 5.2.2.
[69] Tanja Luckins, 'Dissolving views, memory and sensory experience: The Cosmopoligraphicon or the "World in Many Pictures" in Melbourne, Australia, in 1855', *Early Popular Visual Culture* 14:3 (2016), 270, doi:10.1080/17460654.2016.1204931.

African audiences. Rev. Dalzell, at the Lovedale Mission in South Africa, expresses the way in which this absence of memory, or recognition, could be manifested:

> Kraal visitation and services are engaged in to a greater or lesser extent by all the members of the mission, and by almost all the adult male members of the Church. Lantern exhibitions of pictures of scenes from Old or New Testament history always draw a crowded house and an attentive audience. It is curious to hear the remarks of those who see these for the first time. At first it is a *wow* of surprise at the colours and light; then *oh* of delight at recognising a feature, an eye, or a hand; then feature after feature is seen till at last it flashes on them that it is a *man,* and so on till the whole picture is seen.[70]

Sensory responses to colours and light here precede the cognitive recognition of familiar objects. Where objects and scenes, as well as perspectives and artistic conventions, are unfamiliar, as many shown to new African audiences would have been, the move from sensory response to the intellectual and emotional engagement intended by missionaries was surely much harder. Furthermore, the place of the magic lantern for missionaries developed within the Western Christian symbolic framework of light, which formed its key conceptual element; while the science and craft of the optical lens was the physical key to the lantern's birth, at the heart of its symbolic significance lay its illumination, understood simultaneously as science, revelation, and mystery.

For missionaries, putting on a lantern show enabled them literally to shine a light in the darkness, with the technological illumination transforming into theological light. The trope of 'heathen darkness' into which this light was to shine is so pervasive and so well-recognised from colonial and pre-colonial descriptions of Africa that it seems barely to warrant repetition. Nonetheless, it is a theme of such significance in the missionary conception also, that it must be revisited here to demonstrate the place of the magic lantern within this symbolic, ideological construction.

In Christian tradition, darkness is commonly associated with the bad and ungodly, and light with the good and divine. These suppositions are ascribed scriptural origins, as God divides the light from the dark and finds it good (though it may be questioned whether it is the light or the order that is deemed good), and in the gospels light is salvation, divinity, and revelation to which darkness and

[70] Rev Dr J. Dalzell, *Lovedale Institution Report, 1888* (Umsinga, Natal: Gordon Memorial Mission, 1889), 42.

those who dwell in darkness are opposed. Although, as Eulalio Baltazar draws attention to in his 1973 *The Dark Center*, an alternative reading of darkness and blackness is possible, particularly through the theophanies of darkness evident in both Old and New Testaments (Moses' encounter with God in Exodus 20:21; dedication of the Temple in 1 Kings 8:12/2 Chronicles 6:1; Jesus' birth), Christian theology has often overlooked these moments, and emphasised not only the association of darkness with divine absence but, by extension, with black skin.[71] The myth of the Curse of Ham has fed into this exegetical tendency, as an explanatory narrative for the existence of blackness, and later as an 'etiology of black slavery'.[72]

The use of the light/dark dichotomy as a referential framework within modern missionary contexts is clearly evident. Henry Morton Stanley's *Through the Dark Continent* (1879) and Bishop William Taylor's *The Flaming Torch in Darkest Africa* (1898), Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* (1899) and the CMS *Forts of Darkness and Soldiers of Light: A Missionary Book for Boys and Girls* (1895), along with numerous possible examples from the same period, all highlight the Euro-American association of Africa with darkness. In an address at the ordination of John Chalmers to be missionary in South Africa in 1860, Reverend Logan Aikman applies the trope to a more specific and personal point when he instructs Chalmers that his 'home must be a centre of light'.[73] This call is intimately connected with the idea of the missionary house, and wider mission station, being a hub of Christian values and Western 'civilisation', but goes beyond it to imply that it should not only be a religious example, but a locus of divine presence itself. Aikman's call extends further, urging that South Africa itself should become a beacon to the rest of the continent: 'Recovered from darkness, [South Africa] must prove a centre of light'.[74]

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[71] Babatunde Lawal, 'After an imaginary slumber: visual and verbal imagery of 'awakening' Africa', *Word & Image: A Journal of Verbal/Visual Enquiry* 26:4 (2010), 413-428, doi:10.1080/02666281003650568, 413, 427; see also Eulalio P. Baltazar, *The Dark Center: A Process Theology of Blackness* (New York: Paulist Press, 1973), 129–65.

[72] David M. Goldenberg, *Black and Slave: The Origins and History of the Curse of* Ham, Studies of the Bible and its Reception 10 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017).

[73] J. Logan Aikman, 'The Missionary and His Work: An Address to the Rev. John A. Chalmers, on the Occasion of his Ordination as a Missionary to South Africa' (Glasgow: George Gallie, 1860), 8.

[74] Aikman, 'Missionary and His Work', 11.

This notion of light as 'a centring force' in religious thought and practice is affirmed by geographer Barbara A. Weightman. She identifies light as crucial in the experience and expression of the divine, and specifically in the symbolic construction of sacred spaces and landscapes, asserting that '[a]s sun, fire, ray, color, or attribute of being and place, light serves as a bridge between interpretation of landscape and religious experience'.[75] For instance, harnessing the sun to create light and colour through stained glass windows acts to sanctify an architectural structure; within a landscape illuminated by natural sunlight, it is the interior, sacred space that hosts the most heavenly beams.[76] Both the enactment and destination of pilgrimage are also often focused around light, with paths being candle-lit, and the end-point being both the realisation of spiritual illumination, and entry into a ritually-lit physical space. Hierophonies, or self-revelations of the divine, frequently occur in the context of light; some, like the site of Moses' burning bush encounter with YHWH on Mount Sinai, subsequently become pilgrimage destinations themselves.[77] What unites these illuminations is the creation of a centre, or a spiritual home, within otherwise disordered or disoriented spaces; as the hearth is the centre of the home, the symbolic lights of church, divine revelation, or pilgrim journey act to orient the believer toward the homing centre of God. Aikman's injunction that the home be a light in the darkness may thereby be interpreted as a call for the light of divine presence carried in the person of the missionary, and in the Scripture he carried, to render his new space a 'home' that could draw people towards it. However, in his wider call for South Africa to be a light, problematic echoes of the notion of chosenness and of a promised homeland seem unavoidable.

The use of the magic lantern participated in this centring narrative of light. Weightman points to the 'manipulation' of light and colour to create experiences of awe and wonderment in religious uses of art, stained glass, gold leaf, and mosaics. In the lantern too, light and colour are manipulated in ways that inspire awed and amazed responses. Indeed, the way in which it does so raises a secondary, and more problematic, meaning of the lantern: magic. Its ability to capture attention, and to provoke awe and wonder, was used as a direct counter

[75] Barbara Weightman, 'Sacred landscapes and the phenomenon of light', *Geographical Review* 86:1 (1996), 59.
[76] Weightman, 'Sacred landscapes', 63.
[77] Weightman, 'Sacred landscapes', 69.

to witch doctors and 'superstitious' practices. Waddell (1863) describes the discrediting of a 'doctor of devices' and his subsequent ridicule and lack of sympathy from the king. He concludes the passage by saying that '[t]o shake the credit of these deceivers still more, the king welcomed our magic lantern, and we had several grand exhibitions to uproarious crowds'.[78] The lantern here participated directly in the discrediting of the old ways: where the king drove the doctor of devices out, he welcomed the lantern; the ridiculed man is contrasted with the grand exhibitions, and the derisive laughter of children set against the 'uproarious crowds' applauding the mechanical show.

The lantern, though emphasised as something humanly made and inanimate, does, as suggested earlier in relation to Livingstone, appear to perform a magical function, or at least to function in a way more closely related to the 'magic' it sought to displace than its users may have cared to admit. The focus of much missionary censure was on active, ritual, performative elements of African religious life, and was typically contrasted with the ways of the people of the book, characterised by words, rather than ritual action.[79] This contrast was constructed through a narrative that situated African 'magic' in opposition to a literary, rational Christianity, although in the process, objects associated with the latter could themselves acquire magical significance as 'iconic object[s] of power', as Gerald West observed in relation to the use of the Bible among the Batlhaping.[80] In the case of the magic lantern, active engagement and performativity were integral elements of public shows, which simultaneously undermined its position as passive and unmagical, and enhanced its appeal. The audience did not only receive information or entertainment passively from the projected images, but participated in it, through Church Army-style interactions of hymn singing, prayer, and images, or in the active (and sometimes ridiculed) responses the images themselves provoked in the exclamations of 'wow' and 'oh', or in laughter. For, as Freedberg argues in *The Power of Images*, 'magic' is itself

[78] Hope Masterton Waddell, *Twenty-nine years in the West Indies and Central Africa: a review of missionary work and adventure 1829-1858* (T. Nelson, 1863), 342.
[79] For an example of the use of magic lanterns to displace indigenous rituals among the southern Tswana, see Comaroff and Comaroff, *Revelation and Revolution Vol 1*, 234.
[80] Gerald West, 'The Beginning of African Biblical Interpretation: The Bible Among the Batlhaping', in *The Bible and its Translations: Colonial and postcolonial encounters with the indigenous*, ed. J.A. Naudé, Acta Theological Supplementum 12 (Brandhof, Germany: Bloemfontein, 2009), 34.

a problematic category applied derogatively to 'primitive' arts and rituals by the West, which really relates to the uses of and responses to those images, and which, as such, is common across societies.[81]

These slides, though intended to communicate truth, did so by the creation of an illusion; with such optical gadgetry, seeing and believing were not always meant to be the same thing.[82] A temperance narrative peopled by actors might teach of the dangers alcohol posed to a man's ability to provide for his family, but the figures in the scenes were not truly drunk or destitute. Similarly, the reproduction of a painting of Jesus was a prompt to consider truths about God in Christ, not to see a literally 'true' image of the man Jesus. While it may have seemed self-evident to a British Victorian audience that this was the case, the distinction was not always so clear to early African viewers – a situation capitalised upon in missionary accounts to highlight the perception of a native state of ignorance, the cure for which was Western Christian enlightenment. Indeed, missionary accounts tend to focus on the lantern show as spectacle rather than spiritual experience for those they sought to evangelise, with 'natives' seen, like Thomas, to need additional sensory proof of Christ's resurrection.

An extract from a Glasgow Infant School Magazine in the Lovedale missionary archive indicates a pedagogical awareness that images did have to be distinguished from their referents. Figure 25 shows an illustration of a cow, and an accompanying text that asks, 'What is this? *The picture of a cow*. What do you mean by the picture of a cow? *The likeness of the cow*'.[83] This passage, while perhaps not very illuminating for its readers, indicates a useful distinction between image and object. The illustration is not itself a cow, but only the likeness (or representation) of one. In English, it would be acceptable to state that this picture 'is a cow', but the author here is determined to make a clear distinction. The child, as the African, was assumed to lack the capacity for discernment of image from reality and, as such, that difference had to be stated explicitly. In a similar vein, Dalzell's comments on the challenge of image recognition when people are faced with a lantern show for the first time – the '*wow* of surprise at the colours and light', the

[81] Freedberg, *Power of Images*, xxi-xxii.
[82] Horton, 'Were they having fun yet?', 13; see also Crary, *Techniques of the* Observer, 14.
[83] *The Glasgow Infant School Magazine* (Glasgow: George Richardson, ca. 1857), 94.

'*oh* of delight at recognising a feature' before the whole picture is perceived – preface a greater concern over the ability to recognise their intended meaning, since '[i]t needs more patience to get the *lesson* of the picture imprinted on the retina of the heart.[84]

It will seem obvious to state that one purpose of lantern shows for missionaries was to increase knowledge of the Christian gospel, perhaps leading to conversion. Or, we might say with Dalzell that images were intended to imprint spiritual lessons on the hearts of their viewers. However, biblical slides were not the whole story, and indeed in both the Stellenbosch and Livingstonia collections there are fewer than might be expected, with approximately 12% of the Livingstonia slides, and only eight percent of those at Stellenbosch, able to be categorised as strictly biblical (see table 1). That a far greater number of the extant slides depict contemporary scenes – of major European cities, 'wonders of the world' (natural and constructed), landscapes and animals – brings us back to the conclusion that these images were part of the missionaries' package of cultural, rather than simply religious, conversion. In a quite literal way, they were attempting to show would-be converts the world through their (Western) eyes.

Decades earlier, Livingstone gave a sense of this, and of his understanding of the interaction between audience and projectionist, reception and delivery:

> The Barotse of our party, meeting with relatives and friends among the Barotse of Masiko, had many old tales to tell; and after pleasant hungry converse by day, we regaled our friends with the magic lantern by night … This is a good means of arresting the attention and conveying important facts to the minds of these people.[85]

This passage indicates several things. Firstly, the use of the lantern show is described as analogous to the telling of tales by the Barotse. It was used in the context of friendship, as a means by which to 'regale', which implies entertainment and amusement, and a certain equality of interaction whereby different forms of storytelling were shared amongst Barotse and British. Secondly, however, we see that this regaling had an ulterior motive: by arresting the attention, important facts could be transmitted. Livingstone seems to assume that by capturing attention, information can be effectively conveyed, whereas the

[84] Dalzell, *Lovedale Institution Report 1888*, 42.
[85] Livingstone, *Missionary Travels,* 278.

movement from sensory perception to intellectual or spiritual enlightenment is not a necessary one. To 'regale', it should be noted, is an act of verbal communication, but is here applied to a visual medium. It is probable that the images, the content of which are unknown, were presented alongside verbal explication, and that their display should therefore be understood as a multisensory visual-verbal event.

Livingstone's displays, delivered in the itinerant context of a travelling party, took place in ambiguous and fluctuating referential frames, but so too did those of later settled missionary stations that were hosted in multi-use spaces housing rational education, sensory entertainment, and sacred worship. This very ambiguity perhaps provided the most appropriate frame within which to view lantern images intended not merely to entertain, but to impart knowledge or, in the case of religious or moral slides, (spiritual) truth. It is from these multivalent spaces and medium that we now turn to the content of the images shown in and through them in the two case-study collections.

7.5 Introduction to Case Studies: Lantern Slide Collections in Stellenbosch (South Africa) and Livingstonia (Malawi)

In order to achieve a more specific view of the use of visual materials in mission, my research included a field trip to locations in South Africa and Malawi that had particular connections with Scottish missionary societies. A primary intention of my research in Malawi was the cataloguing of the slide collection at the Stone House Museum at Livingstonia, the presence of which I had become aware of through Thompson's work.[86] Unexpectedly, whilst researching other material in South Africa at the University of Stellenbosch's Dutch Reformed Church Archive, the archivists who were assisting me unearthed a slide collection of their own, from the same period in the late-nineteenth to early-twentieth centuries, and linked to DRC missionaries also working in Malawi. That the staff had been unaware of the collection's presence in the archive vault, and that it was thus uncatalogued, affirms the problematic cycle of marginality suffered by lantern slide collections worldwide, as identified by Dellmann.[87] The addition of this second collection does, however, enable an expanded view of missionary lantern slide use that will offer insights into the nature and usage of the medium in the

[86] Thompson, *Light on Darkness*, 207-238.
[87] Dellmann, 'Beyond and with the object', 341-342.

context of turn-of-the-century southern African missions. Each collection is comprised of well over 400 individual slides, with both together approaching 1,000 separate images.[88] The quantity of this material has posed challenges in itself, in terms of organisation, and the sheer unwieldiness of dealing with so many items. I will begin by outlining some of the processes of access, investigation and cataloguing, before approaching the collections as evidential resources that can contribute substantively towards a greater understanding of missionary visual culture.

7.5.1 Livingstonia Collection

The mission station at Livingstonia, linked with the Free Church of Scotland, was founded in the wake of Livingstone's funeral in 1874, when it was argued that the most fitting legacy would be the establishment of new missions in Central Africa.[89] Along with the Church of Scotland mission at Blantyre, Livingstonia was to become a key outpost of British mission in Malawi, and some of its missionaries became well-known names in Britain. James Stewart, who was instrumental in the origin of the Livingstonia project, Robert Laws, Walter Elmslie, and Donald Fraser in particular became widely known, not least through their biographies and autobiographies, circulation of which was enhanced by the interest afforded the mission by its connection with Livingstone himself.

The new mission was closely associated with Lovedale in South Africa, another Free Church mission, primarily through Stewart's concurrent leadership at Lovedale. Some of Livingstonia's earliest missionaries were four Xhosa catechists from Lovedale, William Koyi, Isaac Wauchope, Mapassa Ntintili, and Shadrach Mngunana, who had themselves been educated at the Lovedale Institution. Thus, while Livingstonia was a geographically remote mission station, it was well connected within the nexus of British (and specifically Scottish) mission within southern Africa, and back home, and is therefore a suitable case study with which to begin an investigation of magic lantern use.

My aim of photographing and cataloguing the Livingstonia slides faced a number of challenges. The first was topographical. Livingstonia itself is sited on a

[88] Thompson cites a total of over 750 slides; this number were not apparent at the time of my visit in July 2016.

[89] James Stewart, *Livingstonia Its Origin: An Account of the Establishment of That Mission in British Central Africa* (Edinburgh: Andrew Elliot, 1894), 44-48.

plateau high above Lake Malawi, accessible by way of a dirt road switch-backing twenty times up an improbably precipitous hillside. No public transport serves the town, and many of the vehicles that do travel up and down are in alarming states of disrepair. Such an inaccessible site appears on the face of it to be a poor choice of location for the Free Church of Scotland to have established a major mission station. That they did so in 1894 under the leadership of Laws was a product of practical, and primarily medical, necessity. This was in fact the third site for the Livingstonia mission. The first at Cape Maclear at the southern end of the Lake, and the second at Bandawe on the Lake shore were both abandoned as missionary headquarters due to unhealthy conditions that led to unsustainably high mortality rates amongst missionaries. The causes of malaria not yet being understood, deaths were attributed to a miasma rising from the Lake. Laws and his colleagues were nonetheless correct in viewing the higher altitude of the plateau at Mumbwe/Khondowe as a healthier long-term environment for their mission.[90]

While the plateau location did indeed prove healthier for the missionaries, new difficulties of access were created. The Cape Maclear and Bandawe sites were conveniently served by the steamer *Ilala,* which could transport people and goods along the lake, whereas the journey to the plateau was arduous. Between its establishment in 1894, and the opening of the Gorodi Road up the escarpment in 1905, missionaries relied on porters to convey all goods and materials from the lake to the plateau. This included, as Thompson points out, church organs and printing presses, the likes of which prompted many porters to refuse the work, in spite of offers of increased wages.[91] Despite these challenges, Livingstonia was developed with new technologies at its heart. A piped water system was installed between 1901 and 1904, a telegraph link to the Cape to Cairo line came in 1904, and in 1905 hydroelectric power came online. A Training Institute was established in 1895, which Laws envisioned becoming a university (it eventually did, but not until 2003), and a hospital opened in 1911.

Laws himself had a stone house built, which still stands today and is now home to the Stone House Museum, and to the lantern slides. While most of the slides were accessible at the time of my visit, the projector and one further box

[90] Thompson, *Ngoni, Xhosa and Scot*, 95; the parasitic cause of malaria was not discovered until 1880.
[91] Thompson, *Ngoni, Xhosa and Scot*, 95-96.

of slides were kept in a locked display cabinet, the key to which could not be found. All description of the Livingstonia collection is therefore partial, as between 50 and 90 slides remain uncatalogued. In Laws' desk, the neatly labelled wooden drawers and boxes containing the remaining slides belie the disorder into which they have fallen. Evidently they had at one time been organised into categories – geography, children's biblical, Canadian views etc. – but are now jumbled haphazardly between the containers. Viewing the slides could only be done by holding them up to the light from the window, which provided poor illumination, and neither could accompanying readings be found to illuminate image-meanings.[92] A portable light box answered the first difficulty, and enabled me to photograph the accessible slides at reasonable resolution. The second issue is rather harder to remedy, but will be discussed below.

Thompson's survey of the collection in *Light on Darkness* begins by noting that the magic lantern was in use since at least 1880, at the old Livingstonia site at Bandawe, when 'an entertainment' was put on for a visiting group of Ngoni people who, at that time, were thought of as 'wild' and 'savage'.[93] Clearly, use continued, and increased particularly in the context of the Overtoun Institute, the educational arm of the mission established in 1895 on the model of that at Lovedale in South Africa. Thompson points to the large number of slides from professional manufacturers in the collection (including G.W. Wilson of Aberdeen, Newton & Co of London, and J. Lizars of Glasgow), as evidence of the importance placed on them, and the wide variety of subjects indicates their versatility across the work of the mission. Content themes identified by Thompson fall into the categories of geographical, educational (including biology, botany, history, astronomy and ethnography), religious (biblical and non-biblical), morality tales, and humorous slides. From his wide knowledge of Livingstonia and missionary thought, he reasons that geographical images of Euro-American locations, and of

[92] The museum manager, as custodian of the collection, had to be convinced that my photographing would not damage the slides; I am grateful for his acquiescence in the project. It was also evident that the portable light box I had taken to view the slides was both unfamiliar and potentially useful to the museum, as there had previously been no means to see the images clearly, the room being ill-lit and the images small. On my departure from Livingstonia, I gifted the light box to the museum, and hope that it will facilitate a new appreciation of the slide collection in its staff and visitors. I have also received additional funding from the SGSAH to produce a physical catalogue of the accessible slides, a copy of which has been sent to the Stone House Museum. A PDF version of the catalogue is included with this thesis.

[93] Thompson, *Light on Darkness,* 214.

sites from South America to the Far East, would have been 'set in the context of Christian civilisation and progress, and a gradualist hope that in the course of time, Africa might aspire to such advances also'.[94] There is an accompanying lack of images of Africa, in which Thompson is particularly interested, and which may also be explained by the emphasis on 'progress'. He notes, however, that the attitude of Livingstonia's missionaries to African culture was not wholly negative, but rather 'somewhat ambivalent', so would not in itself preclude the inclusion of African images.[95] What is more, there was genuine interest in wider Africa amongst local people, motivated for instance by increasing patterns of migration to Zimbabwe and South Africa, and historical associations as with the Ngoni, who were a migrant people from South Africa as recently as the 1820s.[96] The absence of significant numbers of slides on African subjects, in light of these circumstances, remains surprising and as yet unexplained.

7.5.2 Stellenbosch Collection

The DRC slide collection at the University of Stellenbosch, being an unexpected resource, had in its discovery provoked a mutual excitement for myself and its curators that affirmed to me the value of this project, as we explored together a forgotten resource, and began to reclaim this visual history. Working in a supportive, and well lit, academic environment also made the photographing of these slides much less of a challenge than those at Livingstonia. The same problem of disarray, however, again made the cataloguing and ordering somewhat problematic. And, as at Livingstonia, there were no accompanying readings to illuminate the original messages of the sets.

This collection has a less certain geographical root. Whereas Livingstonia's slides were, and are, associated explicitly with the mission there, the origins, and therefore the functions, of the Stellenbosch slides are less clear. However, some clues can be found in the records of Kaapsche Kerk (Cape Church) mission secretary Johannes du Plessis (1868-1935). Plessis travelled extensively during his time as secretary, at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries, and kept detailed notes. A 1904 pocket note book records

[94] Thompson, *Light on Darkness*, 216-218.
[95] Thompson, *Light on Darkness,* 224.
[96] Thompson, *Light on Darkness,* 224.

under the heading 'CH Murray – expenses' the purchase of 'Lantern slides for CH Murray: The Pilgrims Progress Other Biblical slides 1/6'.[97] Murray is thought to have been stationed in Nyasaland (Malawi) at the time, at the Nkhoma mission that was founded in 1889 by Andrew Charles Murray and T.C.B. Vlok of the DRC, as an outpost of the Mvera mission.[98] In the 1890s additional staff arrived at Nkhoma, including relatives of Murray; C.H. Murray is presumed to be one of these relatives.[99]

The DRC, formally established in the South African Cape by Jan van Riebeeck in 1652, is the traditional church of white settler communities. Its determined focus on the emergent Afrikaner population led to DRC leaders creating a separate denomination for black converts in 1851, the Dutch Reformed Church in Africa (Afrikaans Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk in Afrika, or the Bantu Church). In 1881, it led also to several mixed-heritage congregations breaking away to form the Dutch Reformed Mission Church.[100] Despite this white-centrism, the DRC undertook at the end of the century to convert and 'civilise' black Africans outwith South African borders. The evangelical revivalism that excited missionary passions amongst white South Africans, as it did Europeans and North Americans, is one explanatory factor, but the situation was more complex.[101] In the hostile competition between British and Afrikaner populations for influence over land, people, and power, recruitment of black souls within South Africa was also the gathering of allies. The extension of mission to black Africans outside South Africa was in part an extension of this drive for influence, and an expression also of burgeoning Afrikaner identity.[102] Paradoxically, however, when the DRC Mission was established in 1888 under the leadership of A. C. Murray, it set its sights on

[97] Source PPV 44, DRC Archives, University of Stellenbosch; my thanks to Dr Isobel Murray for alerting me to this entry.
[98] Isobel Murray, personal correspondence, 4 May, 2017.
[99] Four of A.C. Murray's brothers are said to have become missionaries in Nyasaland; Mackenzie and Dalziel, *Scots in South Africa,* 172.
[100] *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 'Dutch Reformed Church,' last modified 19 September 2016.
[101] Isaac C. Lamba, 'The Cape Dutch Reformed Church Mission in Malawi: A Preliminary Historical Examination of Its Educational Philosophy and Application, 1889-1931', *History of Education Quarterly* 24:3 (1984), 374; Willem Saayman, *Being Missionary - Being Human: an overview of Dutch Reformed Mission* (Pietermaritzburg: Cluster, 2007), 47.
[102] Saayman, *Being Missionary*, 45-46.

Malawi (Nyasaland) primarily because of strong links with the Scottish missions already established there.

Murray, himself of Scottish descent, had exchanged positive correspondence with Robert Laws at Livingstonia prior to travel, through which Laws had extended a 'fraternal invitation'.[103] On arrival, Murray spent time with Walter Elmslie and his wife at Njuyu, and would have been influenced there by the practices of the Free Church mission amongst the Ngoni. After an early attempt to start a mission at Karonga at the far north of Lake Malawi was aborted after problems with slave traders, the first DRC school was established further south at Mvera in 1890, the best pupils from which, along with those from schools later established at Ndindi and at the south end of Lake Malawi, were sent to Livingstonia. In 1895, another DRC missionary, William Murray, took charge of the Livlezi mission, handed over from Livingstonia as it was deemed too far south for effective control to be exerted.[104] Close links between the Presbyterian missions were in part prompted by the external threat of Portuguese Catholicism, against which all were united. The unification in 1926 of the DRC mission with the CCAP (itself formed of the Free Church mission at Livingstonia, and the Church of Scotland Blantyre mission two years earlier), was a culmination of decades of productive interactions.

Although little is known about the use of lantern slides in the DRC Mission in Malawi, and the collection now at Stellenbosch is, as we have noted, of uncertain origin, its strong links with foreign missionary activity are clear. The records of du Plessis, combined with the strong Scottish-DRC links, and the content of slides including text in Chichewa, a local language in Malawi, all indicate both their use within the mission context, and the character of the collection as the result of interchange between denominationally and geographically varied groups within and outside southern Africa.

7.6 Case Study Sources and Content

Analysis of the content of the Livingstonia and Stellenbosch collections has been based on the databases I compiled from information on the slides themselves, with

[103] Saayman, *Being Missionary,* 53.
[104] Isaac C. Lamba, 'The Cape Dutch Reformed Church Mission in Malawi: A Preliminary Historical Examination of Its Educational Philosophy and Application, 1889-1931', *History of Education Quarterly* 24:3 (1984), 376.

the addition of secondary material derived primarily from the extensive records of the UK-based Magic Lantern Society.

Provenance of the slides is distinctive between the two collections, though some commonalities exist. Many of the Livingstonia slides were manufactured or distributed by Scottish companies: J. Lizars, Gardner & Co., Prescott & Co, and W.W. Scott (all Glasgow), and G.W. Wilson (Aberdeen). A high proportion of Stellenbosch slides originate from commercial London firms (Newton & Co especially), but some come from South Africa (Peters) and Zimbabwe (Smart & Copley), as well as several from G.W. Wilson and a small number from the Church Army Lantern Department. Most slides, however, have no manufacturer or distributor information, and many of would have been home-made. It was relatively straightforward to create glass slides at home from photographic negatives, and the small 'quarter-plate' (4 ¼ x 3 ¼") cameras available in the late nineteenth century produced ideally-sized negatives for the purpose, as the standard lantern slides dimensions were 3 ¼" square.[105] Travel photographs were commonly made in this way, much as holiday snaps would be shown on the 35mm slide projector in the second half of the twentieth century. For example, a set of Norway landscapes at Livingstonia, with its hand-written labels, is most likely home-made.

In pursuit of a better understanding of the slides' content, the attribution of keywords to each slide was made during the process of cataloguing. These keywords have been transferred into a table (below) of approximate, and overlapping, categories. Though imperfect, and by no means exhaustive, these serve as a useful organisational tool to facilitate initial analysis. The remainder of this section will provide brief expositions of some of these categories, with particular focus on African images, science, comic and moral narratives, religious pictures, landscapes, and portraits.

[105] Anon*, Magic Lantern,* 55.

Keyword	Livingstonia (451 total)	Stellenbosch (472 total)
Africa	10	231
- South Africa	0	42
- Zimbabwe	0	43
- Zambia	0	25
- Malawi	1	2
- Egypt	0	19
North America	18	30
Animals	71	41
Asia	10	0
- India	2	0
- China	4	0
Astronomy	7	0
Boats	71	14
Buildings (interior)	122 (10)	164 (26)
Comic	39	0
Ethnography	8	48
Europe	93	128
- England	10	69
- Scotland	20	7
- Wales	1	0
- Britain	3	18
- Italy	5	5
- Spain	3	0
- France	5	8
- Germany	1	1
- Portugal	0	2
- Norway	26	0
Figures	188	147
- White in Africa	3	44
Holy Land	1	7
Hunting	7	9
Labour	13	25
Landscape	79	85
Map	1	7
Memorial	8	22
Mission	0	17
Narrative	46	11
Portrait	4	50
Religious	77	99
- New Testament	34	34
- Old Testament	5	6
- Christ	30	32
Natural history	26	0
Astronomy	7	0
Text	2	21

Table 1: Comparative breakdown of lantern slide subjects, Livingstonia & Stellenbosch collections.

7.6.1 Narrative

In the earlier analysis of *The Sunday at Home*, narrative and didactic images were identified as categorically distinct, functioning in different, if connected, ways in relation to texts and reader-viewers. While the images in the lantern slide collections differ from these print illustrations in content and presentation, a broadly similar grouping emerged in my analysis, albeit with certain caveats as to the similarities between printed and projected media.

There is an extent to which all lantern slides were narrative at the point of projection, as the verbal text was integral to viewers' sensory experience of the lantern show. In contrast, images at the point of reception in printed formats could in practice be viewed alone, with surrounding text excluded. The heavy use of the Royal Scroll images in contrast to the pristine text, and the practice of cut and mount, demonstrate materially that image and text were, despite their potentially mutually interpretative intertwining, separable. Although the lantern show is considered a primarily visual medium, it was, as Livingstone's 'regaling' shows, closely associated with storytelling, and the spoken narratives that accompanied slide images were unavoidably entwined with that visuality. This image-(verbal) text interaction is more akin to the print genre of narrative illustration, whereby image participates in the generation of the meaning of text-told stories, with illustration not subsidiary to, but 'constitutive of plot'.[106]

Narrative text-images in lantern and print formats are not, however, identical in function or fixity. Narrative or narration can be changed at each lantern showing, and the viewer-listener cannot typically experience the repeated simultaneity of text and image possible with printed materials. The relative value of word and image also presents a significant distinction between the media. Serialised print narratives, originally published with a parity of value for illustrations (and illustrators), and words (and authors), were subsequently issued in editions that side-lined the illustrations such that many are only now being reclaimed.[107] In lantern shows, it is the images that have been retained as paramount, with collections of slides widespread, but the absence of

[106] Mary Elizabeth Leighton and Lisa Surridge, 'The Plot Thickens: Toward a Narratological Analysis of Illustrated Serial Fiction in the1860s', *Victorian Studies* 51:1 (2008), 97, http://www.jstor.org/stable/20537366.
[107] Curtis, *Visual Words*, 35-36; see 4.2.1 above.

accompanying readings common. As well as indicating the retrospective importance placed on constituent elements, this reflects the malleability and interchangeability of the lantern medium, and the variety of stories that could be told of and around a collection of images, as evidenced by the material re-ordering and re-use of slides. It was through the mobility of images, as Landau states, that linguistic signifiers became detached, and new meanings had thereby to be constructed.[108]

In the case of the two collections under consideration, the absence of full explanatory texts makes deciphering missionaries' intended messages problematic, since only one half of the image-text apparatus of meaning remains. The only extant texts within the slide collections themselves are captions, usually handwritten, on the slide mounts.[109] Unlike captions that appear on print images, these are primarily organisational references for producer and presenter, rather than interpretative indicators for the viewer.[110] For the researcher, they provide information useful for identifying the content of individual images, for grouping disarrayed sets, and for identifying instances of slide re-grouping or re-purposing. While knowledge of a set title can be suggestive of the narrative that would have shaped an image's interpretation, these captions are of limited value in interrogating their presentation and usage.

For some of the commercial sets from Livingstonia and Stellenbosch, associated readings can be found from other sources, which, though not definitively demonstrating the narrative-image combinations actually experienced in missionary settings, provide strong suggestions.[111] A comic set entitled *The Elephant's Revenge* is one example. The remnants of two 12-slide sets of the tale can be found in the Livingstonia collection, featuring different artwork but linked to the same reading, or virtually so. They depict the tale of an African boy who

[108] Paul S. Landau, 'An Amazing Distance: Pictures and People in Africa.' In *Images and Empires: Visuality in Colonial and Postcolonial Africa*, ed. Paul Landau and Deborah D. Kaspin (London: University of California Press, 2002), 16.

[109] There are also organisational categories imposed on the Livingstonia collection in the labelling of drawers into content themes (children's biblical, ships & naval, geography etc.), but as these represent much later groupings, and the slides themselves are no longer sorted correctly into those categories, these labels have not been considered.

[110] Landau highlights the interpretative significance of captions and titles in 'Amazing Distance', 15.

[111] Especially the Lucerna database project, which has digitised almost 3,000 lantern slide readings and music scores (http://www.magiclantern.org.uk/readings/).

shoots an arrow at an elephant minding his own business and drinking from a pool. The elephant, hurt and enraged, exacts revenge on the boy by dunking him, squirting him, holding him in terror above the open mouth of a crocodile, and finally dumping him in a cactus bush. The explicit moral of the story is two-fold: 'Never interfere unless there is just cause for your interference, and, because an elephant is such a big unwieldy creature, do not think that he is not sufficiently sagacious to give you tit for tat if you do'.[112] The introduction of the elephant at slide 1 as 'very sedate, quiet, and good' suggests further that the elephant stands as the moral figure, and the boy (or 'native' as he is termed in the text) for the bad, who is in need of being taught a lesson. An alternative version of the *Elephant's Revenge*, written in poetic form, makes such a reading more apparent: 'he never was cruel, oh! Never again,| Since he knew himself now, what it was to feel pain;|So I hope cruel people, the big and the small,| Will soundly be thrashed as a cure for them all'.[113]

Both texts, the poem in particularly, employ racially offensive language. The arrow-shooter is 'a cruel black fellow', a hard-hearted bully who did 'wantonly cause others pain'.[114] The severity of the lesson given by the elephant appears to be a necessity given the excessive cruelty of the fellow; he is a figure of ridicule and moral judgement. It must be wondered whether the readings were used in the Livingstonian context, and how they would have been received if they were. Again, the context of the harsh opinion of the Ngoni is worth bearing in mind, although positions on this matter varied, with Donald Fraser being more positive, for example. It should also be noted that 'wonton pain' was more likely to be caused by the hunting activities of white men than of mischievous local boys.

The Elephant's Revenge, with its clear moral, has some didactic tropes, but is included as a narrative example for two key reasons. Firstly, there is the intimate association of (extended) text and image, in which image and narrative are mutually interpretive. Secondly, and in distinction from the narrative images found in *The Sunday at Home*, the sequence of images themselves form a narrative, in something akin to cinematic or comic-strip progression. This latter

[112] 'The Elephant's Revenge; or, The New Jumbo in Africa', in *Readings in prose and verse: with supplementary lecture book containing lectures and readings for the magic lantern* (London: Theobald & Co., n.d.), 45.
[113] 'The Elephant's Revenge', in *Miscellaneous tales: no. 3* (London: York & Son, n.d.), 204-206.
[114] 'The Elephant's Revenge', 205.

feature is common to other narrative slides held at Livingstonia, including some more straightforwardly comic offerings. The complete set, *A Live Snowball*, in which a gentleman comically rolls into a snowball and causes chaos, makes narrative sense without an accompanying text. In this example, short captions are included on the slides, but the story would be comprehensible were these to be omitted. Similarly, and without explanatory captions, a life-model series of a man caught napping (title unknown) tells a visual story that is not reliant on a presenter's description.

Slides illustrating the *Pilgrim's Progress*, which is the only narrative set at Stellenbosch, and of which Livingstonia holds a partial set from a different version, follow a format more similar to the serialised periodical illustrations. Here, Bunyan's extended text is the primary referent, with the illustrations capturing and interpreting discrete, selected moments; the images without knowledge of the text would not form into a coherent narrative sequence, and indeed could not successfully be placed in order without that knowledge. The partial Livingstonia set *Alone in London*, in the same way, is reliant on a textual framework.

7.6.2 Didactic

A number of slides fit a didactic function similar to that described in 4.3.2. These include moralising text-image combination and portraits, but also slides with scientific content that, given the context of their display, had underlying moral and social intent. Examples of these three didactic types will be considered in turn.

In explication of the moral text-image combination, the slide set *Ants and Their Ways*, from the Livingstonia collection, is first considered in some detail. The reading for this set, produced by J. Lizars of Glasgow, was identified amongst the Magic Lantern Society resources, and provides a fascinating insight into the ulterior motives that could underlie the presentation of even seemingly-innocuous natural history images (this set comprises 18 of Livingstonia's 27 natural history slides). The secondary agenda revealed through the addition of the text calls into question what 'facts' such a set might be intended to convey. An extract from the concluding section reads as follows:

> … there is much in the economy and character of these insects worthy of our admiration. Their unwearied industry and indomitable

> persevearnce [sic], the arduous and sincere exertions of every individual towards the common object, their regulated labour, the alacrity and zeal with which the overburdened are assisted, their care in observing the times and seasons, the judgment with which they avail themselves of favourable circumstances, and the grand evidence which even these minute creatures are enabled to offer of the effects producible by the co-operation of numbers in a good and useful object – are all circumstances which explain and enforce the injunction of the sacred writer: 'Go to the Ant, thou sluggard: consider her ways and be wise.'[115]

The sacred writer, who is the author of Proverbs 6:6, praises the ant not only for its labours, but for its foresight and prudence in gathering food for the winter, and for doing so without being told. The author of *Ants and their Ways* takes up the ascription of moral virtue to the ant, upholding it as an exemplar of hard and useful industry. These are quite different facts from those of animal behaviour or anatomy. This is the 'fact' of the superiority of the Protestant work ethic, and the economic structuring of western society, brought to bear against the stereotype of the 'idle heathen'.

The pertinence of this message to missionaries in northern Malawi would have been apparent. The northern Ngoni were seen as a dangerous and warlike people, who engaged in violent raids against their neighbours, particularly the Tonga who were, in contrast, portrayed as peaceable pastoralists. This view of the Ngoni was widely expressed at least until the eventual annexation of their territory in 1904 (the last region of Malawi to come under colonial rule), and the reputation persisted well beyond, assisted by works such as Elmslie's 1899 *Among the Wild Ngoni*. The prudent and industrious ant provided a clear visual, and relatable, model through which missionaries could endeavour to educate the Ngoni people in the ways of Western Protestant industry.

Furthermore, in a most appropriate metaphor for the missionaries and their mission stations, the lecture states that '[t]he most wonderful Ant of all is the Agricultural Ant for they not only raise an edifice, but clear a space around, and prepare it for a garden'.[116]

The use of natural history, and of social insects in particular, as a moralising tool is not new. Bernard Mandeville's (in)famous social and economic *Fable of the*

[115] 'Ants and Their Ways', *Readings for Lantern Slides, Tenth Series* (London: Walter Tyler, n.d.), 51, Lucerna magic lantern web resource, www.slides.uni.trier.de/text/index.php?id=4003131.
[116] 'Ants and their ways', 39.

Bees (1714) explored how the 'private vices' displayed by individuals in a hive contributed to its overall thriving. Though Mandeville's controversial social comment on the reliance of the whole on the avarice and vanity of the few is absent from *Ants and Their Ways*, the modelling of human behaviours on those of social insects connect them. Of perhaps more importance in the context of Protestant mission is the problem these social insects posed for Darwin in his exposition of the theory of natural selection. Natural selection fails to account adequately for the evolution of 'self-minimizing' traits for the benefit of the group, such as the self-sacrificial sting of the bee in defence of the hive, or the sterile ants who nurture the offspring of others.[117] That the persistence of such behaviours appears to conflict with the vision of a cut-throat survival of the fittest was perhaps of intellectual and religious comfort to Christians threatened by Darwinian ideas.

More similar to the periodical didactic equivalents are examples of portraiture. Earlier discussions of religious periodicals, fine art, and ephemera indicated that portrait images were prevalent across Protestant visual culture during the period under investigation, and that Reformers and preachers presented as models of faith were especially common. Such portraits could function as talismanic images, communicating character and thus moral direction for the viewer, as well as conjuring presence-by-proxy that, as discussed in 3.2.1, could endow them with a quasi-magical quality. Given the associated historical use of the magic lantern to produce images of the deceased (recall the artists employed to paint slides of the dead), combined with the wider ubiquity of the Protestant portrait, it would seem that the lantern show was particularly well-suited to portraiture. Of the Livingstonia collection, however, this is not at all the case, and at Stellenbosch is only so to a limited degree.

Livingstonia has just four slides categorised as portraits, and of these only one fits the type of the model of faith: Rev. H.W. Pullar (figure 26).[118] Pullar is

[117] Mihai-Valentin Cernea, 'Darwin's Ant Problem. Group Selection in the *Origin of Species*', *Annals of the University of Bucharest Philosophy Series* LXVI: 1 (2017), 176-177.

[118] The other three portrait-style images are of an anonymous lifeboat hero (whose relevance in relation to seascapes and ships will be seen in 7.6.3), a young girl seated on a stool, and two girls entitled 'Many a Homeless Wanderer', originally from a set illustrating a song by Fred Weatherly and Stephen Adams entitled *The star of Bethlehem*. No other slides from the set are present.

listed as a United Free Church of Scotland missionary to China in the 1904 *Directory of Protestant Missionaries in China, Japan and Corea*, and is pictured here full-length, standing in a strong pose with one foot resting on a stone step leading to the large double doors of a brick building.[119] The caption, which states only Pullar's name, is handwritten, and the slide does not appear to be attached to any larger set within the collection. The circulation of visual tropes of material substantiality and physical presence as markers of spiritual success in mission can be seen here to have occurred between foreign mission locations, as well as from outpost to centre.

While Stellenbosch, in contrast, boasts 50 portrait slides, the subjects portrayed are not predominantly religious figures, but secular ones. Civil and military leaders are favoured, including Cecil Rhodes, who appears twice, General Botha, who became prime minister of the Transvaal in 1907, Major General French (Field Marshal John Denton Pinkstone French, 1st Earl of Ypres (1852-1925)), William Gladstone, and the Duke of Wellington. Members of the British royal family are well represented, with two images of Queen Victoria, and portraits of King Edward VII, King George V and Queen Mary. This focus accords with the appearance of a large number of images of royal buildings, including interior and exterior views of Buckingham Palace, and a text slide of the British national anthem. Other European figures include Louis XIV and Louis XVI, Empress Josephine (1763-1814), first wife of Napoleon I, and Prince Alfred Duke of Saxonby. Two slides of US presidents are also extant, one of William McKinley, and one a montage entitled 'Our Martyred Presidents'. The range of political and military leaders depicted suggests varied sources for the slides.

Also depicted is James Talmage (1862-1933), a professor of geology at the University of Utah, and a prominent leader of the Church of the Latter Day Saints in America. He was an influential theological thinker and writer within Mormonism at the beginning of the twentieth century, and many of his books are still in print today, including *Jesus the Christ*, *The Articles of Faith*, and *The Great Apostacy*. Later, in 1924-1928, Talmage added the role of President of the European Mission to his responsibilities within the Church, which reflected the missionary outlook

[119] Hong Kong Daily Press Office, *Directory of Protestant Missionaries in China, Japan and Corea*, 1904.

of his writings, particularly in *The Great Apostacy*.[120] He also became a fellow of the Royal Scottish Geographical Society in Edinburgh, and of the Geological Society in London. It is perhaps this combination of religious and geological fame that accounts for Talmage's appearance in the collection, as these accorded with interests of the mission itself.

Of certain missionary significance, though also of scientific and geographical import, are Stellenbosch's two portraits of Livingstone. One of these is from G.W. Wilson in Aberdeen, and captioned as a 'portrait from life'. It is numbered 28 in a series of which no others have been identified, but could be the same set as that manufactured by Wrench and Son, London, around 1889, in which slide 28, the final one of the set, is listed as 'Portrait of David Livingstone'. The preceding slides in the Wrench series chart Livingstone's geographical and ethnographic discoveries, as well as his famous escape from a lion's attack, and his meeting with Stanley.[121] Such was the fame of Livingstone, the portrait alone could have been removed from its original set, to function as emblematic of the whole popular narrative of his life and mission.

The second Livingstone slide has two labels. One states 'David Livingstone, 1816 – ', while the other adds 'Died at Old Chitambo NE Rhod 1.5.1873'. This provides an early date for the slide, prior to the news of his death reaching Britain in 1873, and thus predating the DRC mission in Malawi by at least 15 years. The reuse of slides over time and geographical contexts is clearly evident, reinforcing the malleability of the medium, and highlighting the limited resources that were available to missionary practitioners.

The final didactic type, and that most distinct from the printed materials previously considered, is the scientific image. The Livingstonia collection has a number of slides classified as such, while there are none extant at Stellenbosch. This potentially reinforces the pre-occupation of the Free Church missionaries with highlighting European superiority of intellect and knowledge, but may also be indicative of the drive for educational excellence that was at the heart of both

[120] Albert L. Zobell, Jr., *Introduction to The Parables of James E. Talmage* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book Company, 1973), reproduced by University of Virginia, http://socialarchive.iath.virginia.edu/ark:/99166/w6ww7r5v.

[121] Lucerna magic lantern web resource, accessed 4 August 2017, www.slides.uni.trier.de/set/index-slide.php?id=3000359.

the Livingstonia and Lovedale institutions. Stellenbosch, in contrast to Livingstonia's 27 natural history slides, pictures animals only in the context of game hunting.

In addition to *Ants and Their Ways*, classified as scientific for its natural history content, 16 slides at Livingstonia address scientific themes. Eight of these are a partial set on British fauna, the title of which is unknown, and a further isolated slide is of a ptarmigan. The remaining seven images are of astronomical subjects, including an illustration of lunar topography, Jupiter and its moons, and part of the constellation Taurus. As analysis of the *Ants* series demonstrated, impartial communication of knowledge cannot be assumed as the only motivation in the display of such slides. Elmslie, for example, is known to have served as a home missionary in Wick in the 1870s, prior to his arrival in Africa, and may well have been influenced there by his close associate A.W. Roberts' interest in astronomy. Roberts, who later served at Lovedale, had a fascination with the night sky as both a scientific and divine wonder.[122] Presentation of astronomical subjects could in this way have been invested with the cosmic significance of creation.

7.6.3 Sacred (and other) spaces

The home was identified in *The Sunday at Home* as an important type of didactic image, communicating norms of gender, moral and religious education, and the establishment of the domestically-oriented self against the oppositions of otherness encountered as citizens of empire. As well as being invested with meaning in its representation, the home was also the context within which periodical papers were to be read. As such, the home was identified in Chapter 4 as a semi-sacred space. In the mission context, this sanctity is amplified by the greater intrusion of otherness, and the need to establish a Christian centre. The mission house itself thus functioned as the primary exemplar of Western Christian domesticity, with tropes disseminated through public missionary magic lantern displays serving to reinforce it.

Landscapes, identified in the previous chapter as hugely significant in the visual culture and imaginations of missionaries, are also amply represented in both

[122] Keith Snedegar, *Mission, Science, and Race in South Africa: A. W. Roberts of Lovedale, 1883–1938* (Lexington Books, 2015), 10-12.

slide collections. British and European land- and city-scapes are prevalent, recalling home as sacred Christian territory, and modelling its attendant ideals to African audiences. In addition to these, a large number of images of Mosi-oa-Tunya are present in the Stellenbosch collection. Reasons for their inclusion are likely multiple. As a place appropriated, through naming and representation, it symbolised the exploratory and expansionist powers of Europeans, reinforced by images of the construction of a bridge that spanned the falls, which emphasised technological prowess, and attendant dominance over the African landscape. At the same time, the natural wonder of the falls, and the interpretative lens of the sublime aesthetic, recalled the power of nature, and the grandeur, scale, and indomitability of the African interior, all of which point, for the Christian missionary, to divine creative power.

As well as landscapes, seascapes and ships appear repeatedly in the slides. For the missionary, sea travel was essential for reaching Africa, and for returning home. Perils of shipwreck recalled the fears they would have experienced on their journeys,[123] but also the sense of brave and intrepid exploration. Here the pilgrim missionary is evoked, engaged in the wonders and perils of physical movement simultaneously away from traditional sacred centres, and towards the ultimate centre of the divine Kingdom. The much lower emphasis on the sea, and boats, in the Stellenbosch collection reinforces this position. DRC missionaries of the period would typically be born in South Africa, and travel over land to mission locations in the interior. While they may have travelled abroad for education, as A.C. Murray did, the significance of the sea voyage as part of the missionary pilgrimage, travelling into dark and unknown perils, did not hold for these missionaries.

In the Livingstonia collection in particular, there is a sense of displacement, or dislocation, emanating from the large body of images of locations outside Africa. Whilst living and working within African contexts and landscapes, the lantern show was a platform from which to impose other contexts and places, shifting the gaze of missionaries and their audiences from the land on which they stood to lands idealised through memory or imagination. This imposition of missionary experiences and points of reference onto Africa participated in the wider pattern of colonial dislocation for African viewers, but was also potentially

[123] Luckins, 'Dissolving views', 276.

problematic for missionaries themselves. Whilst they were representing Africa visually to those at home, through photography and sketching, prints and lantern slides, they were also representing Europe to Africans; in each case the missionary was interpretatively responsible, mediating between landscapes and audiences from their own positions of ambiguity and displacement.

7.6.4 Biblical (and religious)

It was noted in 4.2.4 that biblical images were uncommon in the pages of religious periodicals. Despite the substantial number of religious images present in both lantern slide collections, the low number of biblical images is again notable: nine percent of the total at Livingstonia, and eight percent at Stellenbosch. In order to determine the material that could have been used for devotional or religious educational purposes, however, the categorisation has been widened to 'religious', and refers to religious narratives, including *The Pilgrim's Progress*, and hymn texts in addition to biblical illustrations. Even with this extended definition, as a proportion of the whole, religious images still only comprise 17% of the Livingstonia collection, and 21% of those at Stellenbosch. It is of course possible that larger numbers of religious slides were used, which could even have perished from extensive use. This would, however, be pure conjecture, and the foregoing evidence of Protestant ambivalence towards biblical and religious images renders the extant proportions consistent. In addition, the expansion of content since Livingstone's early emphasis on the scriptural echoes the increasing acceptance at home of lantern displays as educational tools, and reflects the corresponding diversity of commercial slide sets that had become available.

Biblical images are predominantly of New Testament subjects, with the life of Christ being especially popular. 34 out of 58 biblical slides at Livingstonia are New Testament (59%), 17 of which depict elements of the Passion. At Stellenbosch, 34 out of 44 biblical slides are New Testament (77%), and of these 14 represent scenes of the Passion. Some sets are narrative-specific illustrations such as those depicting the life of Joseph (Livingstonia). General context sets such as *Bible Manners and Customs*, which makes no specification as to Old or New Testament contexts, are also evident, and are the least likely to have been used in devotional settings, as their purpose appears to be educational.

Reproductions of religious works by named artists appear in both collections. At Stellenbosch these include *The First Easter Dawn* by J.K. Thompson (1820-1888), Heinrich Hofmann's (1824-1898) *Jesus in the Temple* and *Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane,* Jean-Baptiste Juvenet's (1644-1717) *Descent from the Cross*, Georg Cornicelius' (1825-1898) *Christ Tempted*, and Hunt's *Light of the World*. Several pictures by W.J. Webb (b.c.1830) in the *Mothers Bible* series are also extant, as well as one from Gustave Doré's illustrated Bible. At Livingstonia, *Belshazzar's Feast* by John Martin, Léon Gogniet's (1794-1880) *Massacre of the Innocents*, and a detail from Raphael's *Transfiguration* are extant, with pictures from illustrated Bibles by Julius Schnorr von Carolsfeld (1794-1872) and Doré also featured. The only artist common to both is Doré, and Stellenbosch's only image by him – Jesus nailed to the Cross – is found also at Livingstonia. These images reflect popular taste in religious painting and prints at home, and as such, would have been both easily available through commercial slide producers, and likely to be selected by missionary donors responding to calls for lantern materials to be sent into the field.

Even where the precise readings designed to accompany a set cannot be found, similar readings can be indicative of wider practices of viewing and reception. So for example, among the religious slides and sets, *Life of Christ* readings can exemplify the genre, several examples of which are available on the Magic Lantern Society database. Some of these were produced as stand-alone sets, such as W. Butcher & Sons' *Children's Life of Christ* c.1905-1907, which was in three individual 'chapters' of eight slides, each sold for around two shillings.[124] Others appeared in collected volumes of readings, as with 'The Life of Christ with readings from the gospels', published in Birmingham slide manufacturer Alfred Pumphrey's *Popular lantern readings: volume I* in the 1880s.[125] This volume is an eclectic mix of temperance propaganda ('The factory chimney: or the little badge of blue', 'Band of Hope address on alcohol, 'Startling drink facts'), comic tales ('The tiger and the tub'), fairy tales (Little Red Riding Hood, Dick Whittington, Cinderella), and literary excerpts (Dicken's *Christmas Carol*, Uncle Tom's Cabin,

[124] Lucerna magic lantern web resource, accessed 14 August 2017, www.slides.uni.trier.de/text/index.php?id=4002945.
[125] Alfred Pumphrey, *Popular lantern readings: volume I* (Birmingham: Alfred Pumphrey, 1880).

Robinson Crusoe). In such a context, the life of Christ presents as another moral tale, or a model life to be replicated.

In other instances, images of Christ do appear in the devotional context of 'services of song'. In the 1900s, Riley Brothers, a Yorkshire slide manufacturer and retailer, produced an affordable series of *Pictorial Services*, sold for 1d. each. Following a model similar to Church Army services, incorporating visuals and hymns alongside prayer and scripture, such sets provided outlines for innovative and arresting forms of worship. However, while it is possible that religious slides were used in such devotional settings, evidence is lacking. The focus of all the images of Jesus at Livingstonia being on particular narrative moments suggests a more instructional function. Two pictures of Christ in the Stellenbosch collection are, however, of a potentially more devotional nature: Hunt's *Light of the World*, and an unattributed portrait-style picture. That the *Light of the World* slide was supplied by the Church Army Lantern Department, and the presence of hymn lyrics in the Stellenbosch collection, does provide the strongest evidence available to suggest that lantern displays were used in multimedia devotional settings, as they were in Europe and America, with communal singing and visual images interspersing verbal lectures or sermons.

7.6.5 Representing Africa

A final distinctive group of images are those depicting African people and places. A large proportion of the Stellenbosch slides are related to Africa (231), many of which are ethnographic (48). In contrast, only ten of the Livingstonia slides can be labelled with certainty as depicting Africa, while its eight ethnographic images are of people in northern Europe (Scotland and Norway), and Asia. This distinction perhaps reflects the more Afro-centric outlook of the DRC missionaries who, though subject to strong Scottish influence, were looking north from South Africa unlike their Free Church counterparts. While those born in Africa tended to receive European education at some stage, this was not necessarily a defining formative experience, and was balanced by experiences, educational and otherwise, in the Cape. A.C. Murray, grandson of a Scottish émigré, was born and raised in Graaf Reinet, and completed his theological education at Stellenbosch before studying medicine at Edinburgh; his perspective was primarily rooted in his

white Cape identity, rather than his Scottish heritage and short period of study there.

Stellenbosch's substantial body of African slides includes ethnographic portraits, photographs of various types of labour (carrying timber, brickmaking, grinding corn), individual buildings and villages in the rural interior, and images of locations in South Africa, including urban scenes. Further information on the provenance of individual slides or sets, intended audiences, and accompanying readings would aid an understanding of how and where these images were used by DRC staff. Although it can be deduced from du Plessis' records that some were used by DRC missions in northern Malawi, it may that these were amalgamated with others at a later date. It was British practice to screen images of 'natives' to home audiences to garner support for ongoing foreign missions; if the same were true for the DRC, many of the African images may never have been shown at their mission stations, but reserved for the illustration of talks back home. If, however, evidence were found to show their use within mission, this would provide an interesting avenue of further research into differences in missionary visual practice.

African audiences in Livingstonia would, on the evidence of the extant slides, have viewed very few images of their native continent. In the only three examples, Africa is the backdrop to European presence and 'progress', rather than being presented for its own sake. One of these depicts the S.S. Domira, a steel screw steamer built by Murray Bros. in Dumbarton, Scotland, in 1887 for the African Lakes Corporation. Shipped out in pieces, the 80ft boat was reassembled in situ at Lake Nyasa (Malawi) for the transportation of people and goods up and down the lake. Two further pictures show people, white and black, standing outside square-built houses (location not known). These accord with the trend towards side-lining Africa, and concomitant attempt to 're-centre' (potential) converts' perspectives around European religious, social, and technological progression.

7.7 Finding Coherence?

The question of how deliberate choices of subject were on the part of missionaries, and how much determined by donors from home, remains difficult to resolve. The materials are certainly similar for home and foreign missions,

suggesting a certain level of parity, whether derived from pragmatic, ideological, or pedagogical motivations. However, in contrast to the localism and 'smallness' of view proposed as appropriate in Ernest Coffin's pedagogy, visual topics of lantern slides were expansive, including wonders of the world, fine art, natural history and science – that is, subjects expected to be outwith the experience of African viewers. Yet, while these are made visible, Africa itself is rendered invisible by its exclusion from slides, and in the act of shutting out the African land(scape) in the darkness at the periphery of the show.

These collections pose numerous questions that remain to be answered. The routes taken by slides to missionary locations is not clear. At Livingstonia, the presence of a Stations of the Cross series could, for example, result from interchange between mission stations within Malawi, and it is known that there was much interchange between DRC missionaries and those at Livingstonia, which may very well have extended to the exchange of lantern materials, though concrete evidence for this has so far not been discovered. Responsibility for some slide selection lies with missionary societies in Britain or South Africa and private donors, but missionaries themselves may have had access to slide catalogues from major manufacturers and distributors. More information is also needed on the practical usage of slides once they were in the possession of a mission station or itinerant missionary: were services conducted with them, on the model of the Church Army, or, like Waddell, was there an aversion to employing such a 'frivolous toy' in a devotional setting? Clues are to be found in rather vague requests for magic lanterns and slides in missionary periodicals, and in the sketchy reports on specific occasions of use, but further research utilising records of missionary lantern departments, commercial manufacturers and distributors, missionary society records and correspondence has the potential to provide additional answers, for which the present preliminary study supplies a foundation.

In terms of exploring the meanings of these specific collections, the variety of subjects and sources causes difficulties. What we have is not a single work of art that can be interrogated, nor even a coherent series that illustrates a discrete missionary message. Rather, we have disparate and disjointed collections of images that speak of the limitations of working in inaccessible locations, dependent on the goodwill of slide donors, and fortune as to which donations actually reach you, rather than theological cogence. Words would have been

employed at the time to interpret or demystify pictures, as they illuminated the sense of the *Ants and their ways,* but since these words have been severed from the images, the images have thereby lost their voices. That said, the words and images were never united in the same way as an illustrated text, nor even as in biblical art which can be interpretatively wedded directly to scriptural text. While there are instances, as in the case of the ant, where we can reclaim the voice and reconstruct the meaning, the overall picture remains fractured and partial.

8. Conclusion

This project began with a missionary movement that, in its own self-conception and in later scholarly reflection, has been characterised by spoken and written words. However, modern visual culture scholarship and the precedents of Christian history demonstrate that image, material and immaterial, commonly accompanies word, a thesis that my research, seeking to bridge the gaps between word and image, perception and practice, validates in the specific field of mission. In studying missionaries emanating from the visual richness of Victorian Britain, I have argued not only that the visual mattered, but interrogated what it consisted of, and how it mattered.

Through the thesis, I have followed the missionary life-journey from the domestic formation of visual identity and imagination, through education and training, into the field of foreign evangelism, and even to death and burial. In so doing, certain threads of visual significance have been traced. Landscape in particular emerged as a key framework through which missionaries conceived their own place within country and empire, and in relation to the Kingdom to come. In African contexts, missionaries used this to try to understand the lands they travelled to, the people that inhabited those lands, and how they could and should interact imaginatively, materially, and theologically within them. Graphic inscriptions of mission stations projected idealised conceptions home, while the visual tokens of architectural and burial sites inscribed missionary presence on and in the land itself. Yet the otherness of the land, and the tenuousness of presence, were evident in the disjunction between image and reality, in the difficulties of construction, and in the very fact that so many missionaries perished in it. By superimposing European landscapes on Africa through magic lantern displays, missionaries projected the familiar as an eclipse of Africa's problematic landscape, as a personal comfort to themselves as 'homeless wanderers', and as an aspiration for Africa to be remade in the (Christian) European image.

Several further motifs recurred throughout the visual journey of the missionary. Portraiture established and disseminated normative views of character as 'read' in face, dress, and posture, providing models for moral and spiritual emulation or censure. Narrative and didactic images and illustrations in

the periodical press and magic lantern displays served to reinforce these physiognomic tropes, and went further in visualising ideologies of gender, class, and domesticity in diverse, but prescriptive, ways. Religious and biblical images - less prominent than an evangelical scriptural focus might suggest, but more prominent than Protestant iconophobia might lead us to imagine - were significant in terms of evangelism and the visual legacies that continue to influence Christianity in post-colonial Africa.

Many of the content traces identified through this project span multiple media. So with landscape, it was encountered at home in panorama and art gallery, print materials and domestic ephemera, before being exported imaginatively and in material visual forms including magic lantern slides, maps, and photographs. Similarly, portraits were viewed in galleries, seen in the periodical press, and displayed at home in embroidery, pottery, and print; in mission settings they were primarily projected, or seen displayed in photographs. Domestic imagery was influential in the religious press, and spread through material mission-station constructions as well as through more typical visual media. As image-types shifted between media, their 'frame of reference' changed, such that visual tropes were linked, but individual instances of an image were distinct. The textual or spoken words accompanying and interpreting visual material altered; the place of display affected meaning (the same picture displayed in a church by candlelight, or in an evening's lantern entertainment show, would convey distinct emotional and intellectual responses); the audience and their visual, cultural, and scriptural perspectives would also bring diverse framings to images.

The material and imaginative images that made up Protestant missionaries' visual culture have thus been shown to have exceeded the bounds of art, and to have incorporated a diversity of material, tactile, and visual media forms, and even mental imaginings. This latter also accounts for some of the suspicion with which image was viewed, since the unavoidable seeping of the material into the immaterial imaginative was potentially uncontrollable: the imagination cannot easily be policed. Yet there was power too in the physical, multi-sensory presence of images. Visual culture, as the accumulation of images in particular meaningful patterns within social groups, is dynamic, resulting from interchange across social and geographical spaces.

In the case of these missionaries, a combination of suspicion, indifference, and dismissal of 'primitive' abilities to process the aesthetic led to a lack of training in the use of visual materials. Despite this, image and art found their way not only into missionaries' missive formation, but into missionary export and practice, particularly through the magic lantern. The visual thus formed an integral part of the dissemination of Christian theology, and the development of theological imagination.

From the foregoing exploration, there are many ends that remain untied, and that would benefit from further research. Three of these I believe to be of particular importance. Firstly, investigation into the reception of missionary visual materials, and wider visual culture, by African individuals and communities, would redress the Eurocentric perspective necessitated by the scope of the current project. This would lead also into a valuable consideration of impacts on the development of emergent Christian visual culture within African faith communities arising from earlier missionary visual practice.

Investigation into the development of missionary engagement with visual and multisensory materials into the twentieth-century is the second research area identified. There is much scope to consider specific missionary societies, foreign mission locations, and time periods influenced by changing attitudes both to image and to mission. As contemporary missionary interactions increasingly operate in the opposite orientation, with African missionaries evangelising European and North American populations seen as progressively more secular, exploration of their visual culture would usefully extend this theme to present contexts.

Finally, analysis of the lantern slide collections from Stellenbosch and Livingstonia has been necessarily partial; more detailed exploration of each from perspectives of manufacture and circulation, image content, and comparison, would add greater insight to this important missionary medium. With cataloguing of and scholarship on lanterns and lantern slides growing, pertinent sources that would aid such studies are increasing. Identification and analysis of additional collections would also be an exciting development of this research strand.

This study, and the potential research avenues it suggests, indicate the importance of ongoing historical and contemporary critique of visual and sensory

practices, assumptions, and means of communication. That a small set of missionaries, from theological backgrounds suggestive of visual poverty, were enmeshed in a complex, multi-layered web of visuality demonstrates that such complexities may be encountered in study of any context.

9. Images

Figure 1: Interior of Girls' High School, Ambohemanga, Madagascar ca. 1890. Council for World Mission archive, SOAS Library. digitallibrary.usc.edu/cdm/singleitem/collection/p15799coll123/id/48080/rec/5

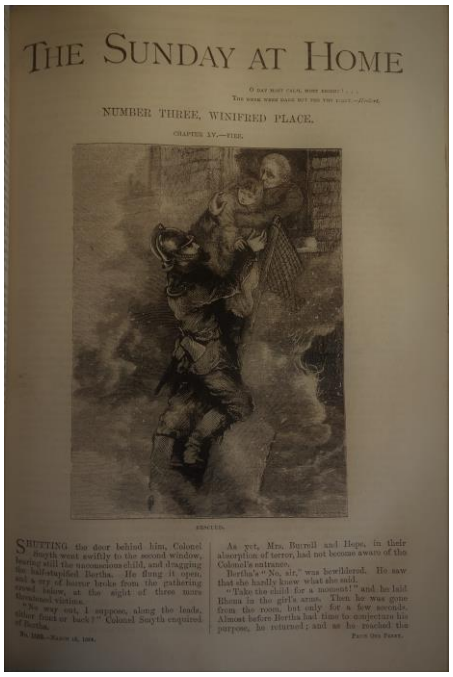


Figure 2: 'Rescued', *The Sunday at Home* 1884. London, Religious Tract Society.

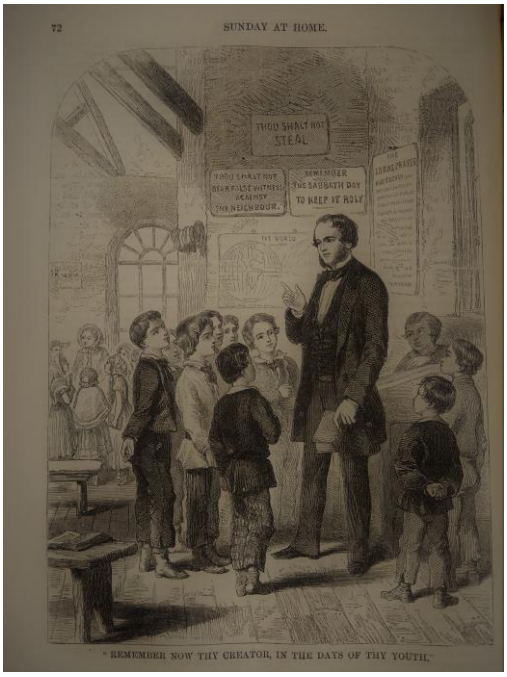


Figure 3: 'Remember Now Thy Creator', *The Sunday at Home* 1858. London: Religious Tract Society.

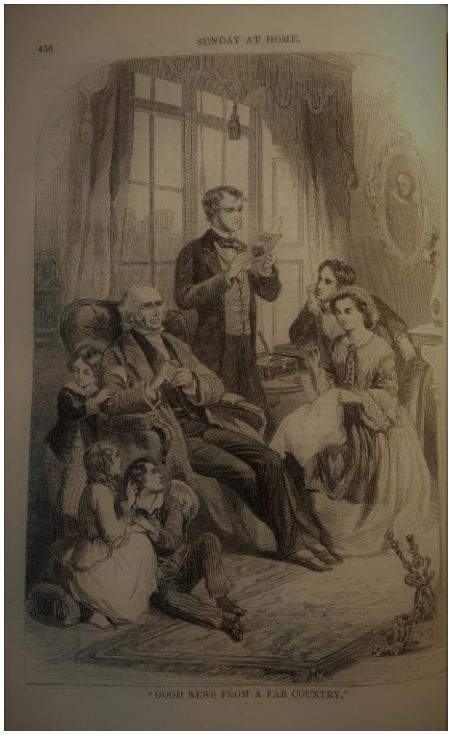


Figure 4: 'Good News from a Far Country', *The Sunday at Home*, 1858. London: Religious Tract Society.

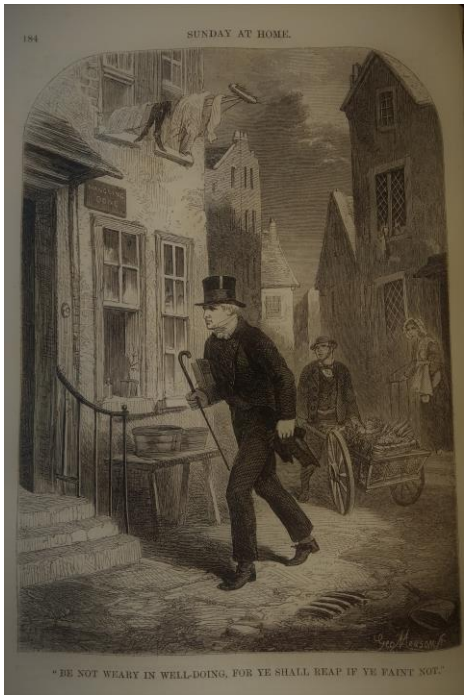


Figure 5: 'Be Not Weary in Well-Doing', *The Sunday at Home* 1858. London: Religious Tract Society.

Figure 6: 'Consider the Lilies How They Grow'. *The Sunday at Home* 1858. London: Religious Tract Society.

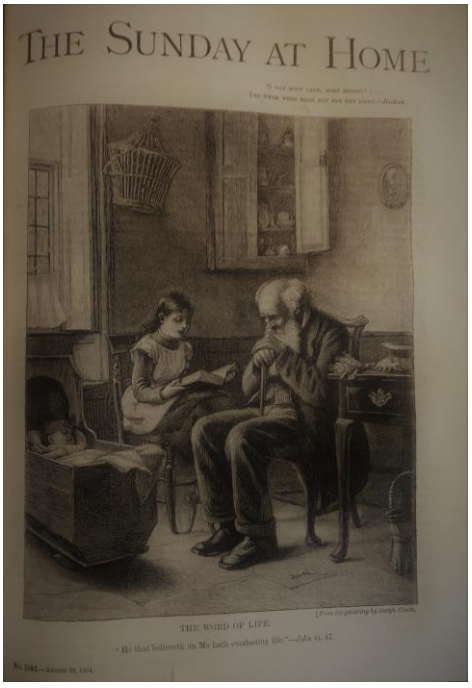


Figure 7: 'The Word of Life', *The Sunday at Home* 1884. London: Religious Tract Society.

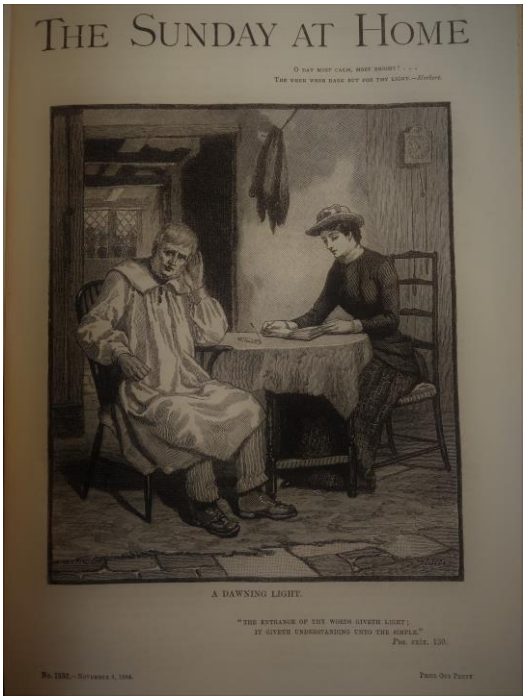


Figure 8: 'A Dawning Light', *The Sunday at Home* 1884. London: Religious Tract Society.

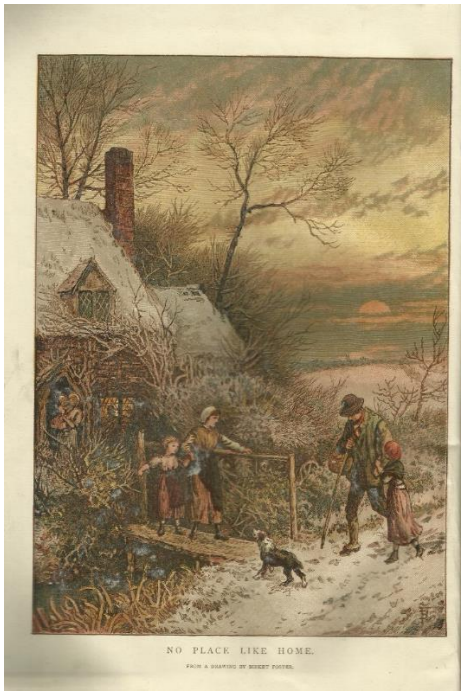


Figure 9: 'No Place Like Home', *The Sunday at Home* 1884. London: Religious Tract Society.

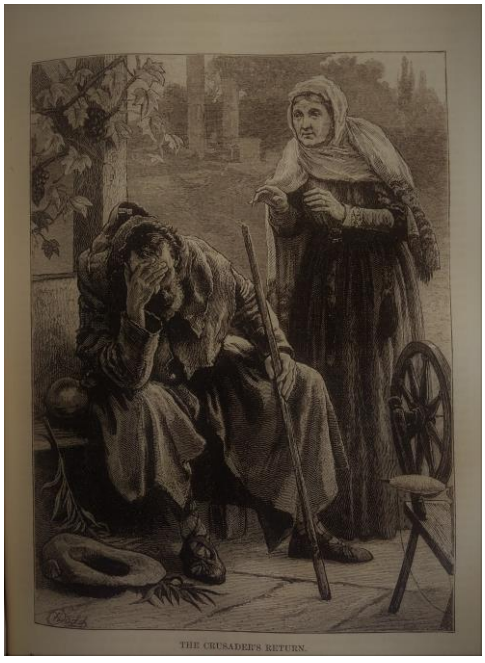


Figure 10: 'The Crusader's Return', *The Sunday at Home* 1858. London: Religious Tract Society.

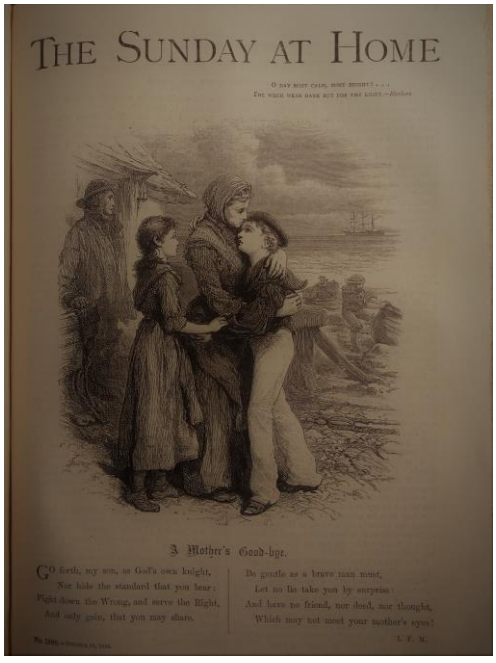


Figure 11: 'A Mother's Good-bye', *The Sunday at Home* 1884. London: Religious Tract Society.

Figure 12: 'Hallowed Be Thy Name', *The Sunday at Home* 1858. London: Religious Tract Society.

Figure 13: Colour seasons plates, *The Sunday at Home* 1884. London: Religious Tract Society.

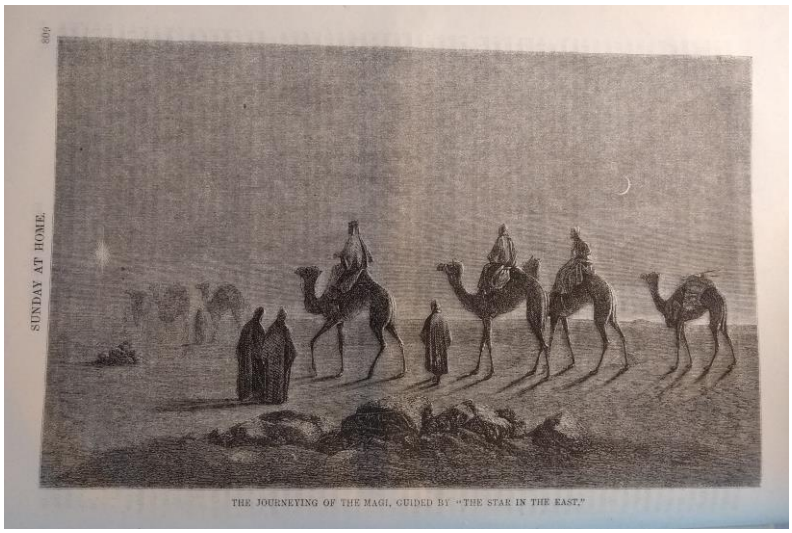


Figure 14: 'The Journeying of the Magi', *The Sunday at Home* 1858. London: Religious Tract Society.

Figure 15: William Hole, cartoon for *The Light of the World* window. Acc.13301/108 St Colm's College Archive. Reproduced by permission of the National Library of Scotland.

Figure 16: Mihály Munkácsy, *Ecce homo!* 1896, Oil on canvas, 405x650cm. Collection of Déri Museum, Debrecen.

Figure 17: 'Miss Coombs' and girls' class. Lovedale Collection PIC 1319. © Cory Library Rhodes University, Grahamstown.

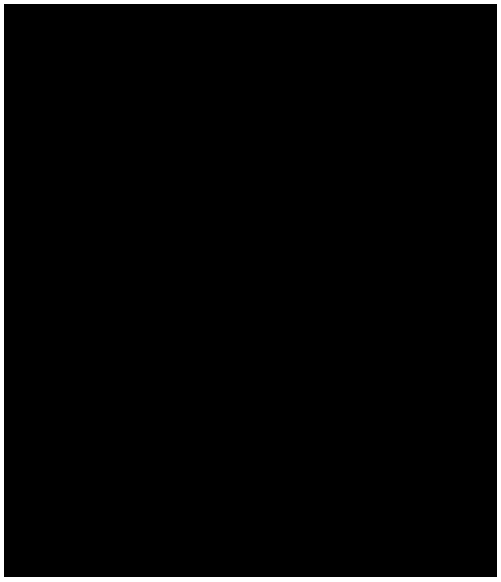


Figure 17a: Poster 1 detail.

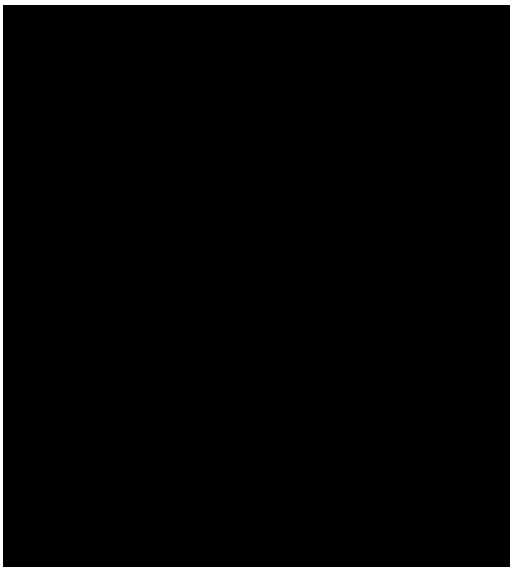


Figure 17b: Poster 2 detail.

Figure 18: *The Royal Scroll*, Levi Walter Yaggy and J.C. Leyendecker. Chicago: Powers, Fowler and Lewis, 1896. Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa Archives, University of Stellenbosch.

Figure 19: *The Royal Scroll* with cardboard proscenium frame, Levi Walter Yaggy and J.C. Leyendecker. Chicago: Powers, Fowler and Lewis, 1896. Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa Archives, University of Stellenbosch.

Figure 20: Map showing Scotland and Lake Nyasa [n.d.]. GB 237 CSWC47/LS5/1/14. Church of Scotland Foreign Missions Committee lantern slide, Centre for the Study of World Christianity at the University of Edinburgh.

Figure 21: 'Africa 1803', in James Stewart *Dawn in the Dark Continent, or Africa and Its Mission. The Duff Missionary Lectures for 1902.* Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier, 1903.

Figure 22: David Livingstone [n.d., artist unknown]. Livingstone Pictures Collection. Council for World Mission/London Missionary Society Archive. London: SOAS.

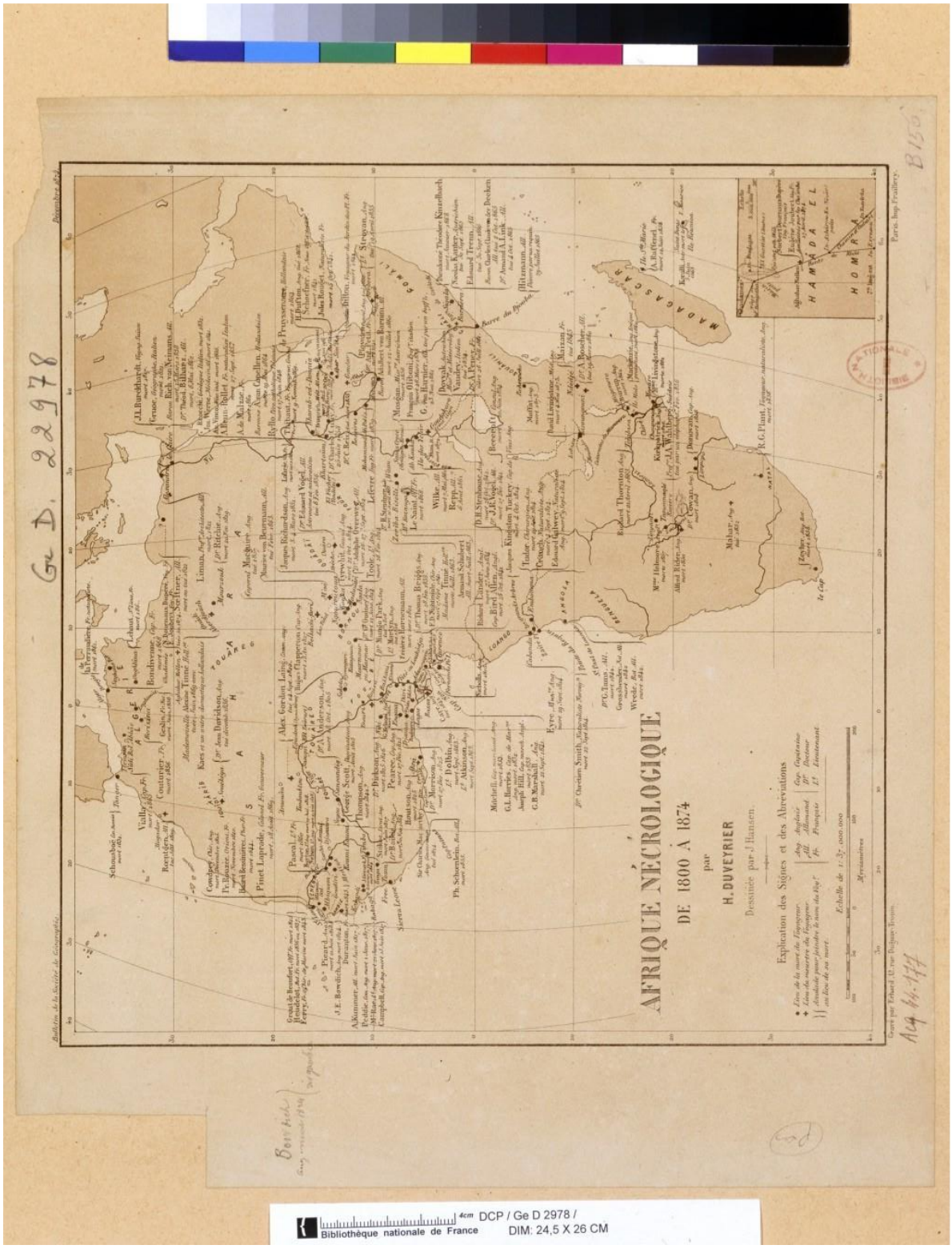
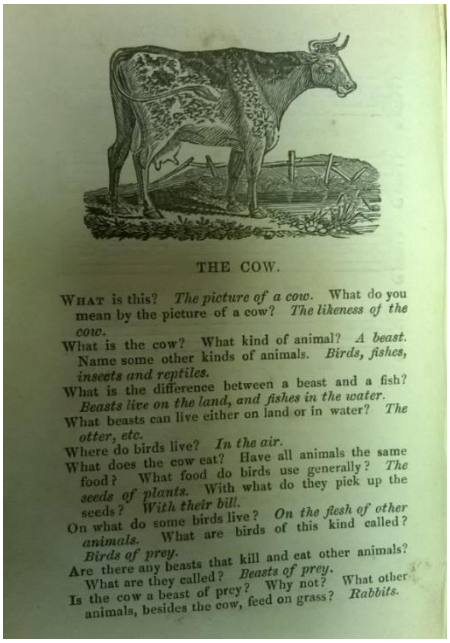


Figure 23: 'Afrique Necrologique.' Henri Duveyrier ca.1874, *Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF-Gallica)* http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b7759096n/f1.highres.

Figure 24: 'The Mission Premises at the Kuruman Station'. George Baxter ca.1842. Council for World Mission archive, SOAS.



THE COW.

WHAT is this? *The picture of a cow.* What do you mean by the picture of a cow? *The likeness of the cow.*
What is the cow? What kind of animal? *A beast.* Name some other kinds of animals. *Birds, fishes, insects and reptiles.*
What is the difference between a beast and a fish? *Beasts live on the land, and fishes in the water.*
What beasts can live either on land or in water? *The otter, etc.*
Where do birds live? *In the air.*
What does the cow eat? Have all animals the same food? What food do birds use generally? *The seeds of plants.* With what do they pick up the seeds? *With their bill.*
On what do some birds live? *On the flesh of other animals.* What are birds of this kind called? *Birds of prey.*
Are there any beasts that kill and eat other animals? What are they called? *Beasts of prey.*
Is the cow a beast of prey? Why not? What other animals, besides the cow, feed on grass? *Rabbits.*

Figure 25: 'The Cow', *Glasgow Infant School Magazine.* Glasgow: George Richardson, c.1857.

Figure 26: 'Rev. H W Pullar'. Lantern Slide 3¼"x3¼". Livingstonia Slide Collection, Stone House Museum, Malawi.

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Biblical quotations are taken from the New Revised Standard Version (Anglicized), unless otherwise specified.

Image	Current location ref	Title/Subject	Artist	Photo/Illustration	Manufacturer/Distributor	Series	Series#	Other Info	Key words	34		
	602506_1	Christ Teaching		I					Religious, Biblical, Christ, New Testament			
	602506_2	Angels gathered		I		Pilgrim's Progress ?			Religious			
	602506_3	The First Easter Dawn '	J.K. Thompson (1820-1888)	I	Newton & Co. London	E.E.	385a	By permission of Mr. Arthur Lucas [photographic/fine art publisher b. 1842], British genre/historical painter. Source: Wood	Religious			
	602506_4	Christian and Hopeful cross the river in Beulah Land		I		Pilgrim's Progress			Religious, Narrative			
	602506_5	Christ laid in the tomb		I					Religious, Biblical, Christ, New Testament			
	602506_6	Lord Save Me'	?Henry James Richter? (1772-1857)	I	Newton & Co. London	[The Life of Christ]	19	By permission H. Graves & Co.	Religious, Biblical, Christ, New Testament			
	602506_7	Cattle, wagon & Figures		P					Africa, Figures, Animals, Ethnography			
	602506_8	Joseph before Pharaoh		I					Religious, Biblical, Old Testament			
	602506_9	African man		P					Africa, Portrait, Ethnography	164		
	602506_10	African men ?brickmaking		P					Africa, Figures, Ethnography, Labour, Buildings			
	602506_11	A Native Bridge'		P					Africa, Ethnography, Buildings			
	602506_12	Hunters & 2 lions		P					Africa, hunting, Animals			
	602506_13	Boy David	W.J. Webb (b. c. 1830)	I		[Mother Bible]			Religious, Biblical, Old Testament			
	602506_14	Christ nailed to the cross'	Gustave Doré	I	Church Army Lantern Department, Edgware Road, London	NT	348		Religious, Biblical, New Testament, Christ,			
	602506_15	huts & palms on shore		P					Africa, Landscape, Buildings, Ethnography			
	602506_16	The Crucifixion'		I	Church Army Lantern Department, Edgware Road, London	NT	351		Religious, Biblical, New Testament, Christ,			
	602506_17	Man down a hole		P					Africa			
	602506_18	Women farming		P					Africa, Figures, Labour, Ethnography			
	602506_19	Calf & shelters		P					Africa, Buildings, Animals			
	602506_20	House boat Zambesi'		P					Africa, Figures, Boats			
	602506_21	African men carrying timber		P				my photo blurred	Africa, Figures, Labour, Ethnography			
	602506_22	African woman & baby		P					Africa, Portrait, Ethnography			
	602506_23	Taking down from the Cross		I (colour)		The Light of the World	45	permission of H. Graves & Co.	Religious, Biblical, New Testament, Christ,			
	602506_24	Christ derided by the Roman soldiers'		I (colour)	Newton & Co. London	E.E.	493		Religious, Biblical, New Testament, Christ,			
	602506_25	Brick building under construction		P				? 'Bouwen' on sticker at top - cf 608409_23	Africa, Buildings, Labour, Mission, Religious			
	602506_26	Simon the Cyrenian carrying the cross'		I (colour)	Newton & Co. London		461		Religious, Biblical, New Testament, Christ,			
	602506_27	large African crowd, seated							Africa, Figures, Mission			
	602506_28	Camp with white family		P					Africa, Figures (white)			
	602506_29	White Figures on horseback		P					Africa, Animals, Figures (white)			
	602506_30	?'Tovendokter'		P					Portrait, Ethnography, Africa			
	602506_31	2 seated men, one with RH missing		P					Africa, Figures, Ethnography			
	602506_32	White man & woman on horseback		P					Africa, Figures (white), Animals			
	602506_33	Men hauling timber		P					Africa, Labour, Figures, Ethnography			
	602506_34	Women & children		P					Africa, Figures, Ethnography			
	602506_35	Women & children		P					Africa, Figures, Ethnography			
	602506_36	2 men smoking		P					Portrait, Africa, Ethnography			

	602506_37	men & boys		P					Africa, Figures, Ethnography		
	602506_38	men working		P					Africa, Labour, Figures, Ethnography		
	602506_39	Christ at Calvary'	? Jose Schena	I (colour)	Newton & Co. London			permission of H. Graves & Co	Religious, Biblical, New Testament, Christ,		
	602506_40	Jesus in the Temple	Heinrich Hofmann (1824-1911)	I				1881	Religious, Biblical, New Testament, Christ,		
	602506_41	Christ crucified		I (colour)					Religious, Biblical, New Testament, Christ,		
	602506_42	Squatting crowd outside thatched building		P					Africa, Figures, Buildings, Mission		
	602506_43	Men stripping bark		P				handwritten caption at top - can't decipher	Africa, Labour, Figures, Ethnography		
	602506_44	crowd with white woman		P					Africa, Figures (white)		
	602506_45	Christ		I					Biblical, Portrait, Christ, , New Testament		
	602506_46	Christ in Garden of Gethsemane	Heinrich Hoffmann	I (colour)	Newton & Co. London	E.E.	?	permission of Berline Photographic Co.	Biblical, Christ, , New Testament		
	602506_47	?'Mzer smelkkides'		P					Africa, Labour, Figures, Ethnography		
	602506_48	Old man & young man working		P					Africa, Labour, Figures, Ethnography		
	602506_49	Nyasa dorp in Bosch'		n/a				Blank slide	Africa		
	602506_50	Tree & Figures		P					Africa, Figures		
	608409_1	Temenuzani mitima, chifukwa		Text				Chichewa	Africa (Malawi), Religious, Text,		
	608409_2	Pakuti Mulungu ...		Text				Chichewa	Africa (Malawi), Religious, Text,		
	608409_3	Pa phiri ndi pa dambo		Text					Religious, Text		
	608409_4	Praise God for His Love		Text					Religious, Text		
	608409_5	Alligator'		P(neg)					Africa, Animals		
	608409_6	A 'School' of Hippos'		P(neg)	E. Peters, Cape Town		143		Africa, Animals		
	608409_7	brick church exterior		P(neg)					Africa, Buildings, Mission,		
	608409_8	?cloth with warrior Figures		P(neg)					Africa, , Ethnography		
	608409_9	porcupine		P(neg)					Africa, Animals		
	608409_10	Hyena'		P(neg)					Africa, Animals		
	608409_11	?impala		P(neg)					Africa, Animals		
	608409_12	leopard		P(neg)					Africa, Animals		
	608409_13	Map of Central Africa, showing author's travel route (May to Aug 1903)		I					Africa, Map, Europe		
	608409_14	Central African Chief'		P(neg)					Africa, Portrait, Ethnography		
	608409_15	men carrying person		P(neg)					Africa, Figures		
	608409_16	woman grinding grain		P(neg)					Africa, Figures, Labour, Ethnography		
	608409_17	bag & contents		P(neg)					Africa, Ethnography		
	608409_18	? Women's cooking class		P					Africa, Figures, Mission		
	608409_19	Dagga rooker'		P					Africa, Figure, Portrait, Ethnography		
	608409-20	Preacher and crowd		P					Africa, Mission, Europe		
	608409_21	Men		P					Africa, Figures, Labour, Ethnography		
	608409_22	Village in forest in ?PIA'		P					Africa, Figures, Buildings, Mission		
	608409_23	crowd seated		P		red/white label - cf 602506_25			Africa, Mission, Europe, Landscape		

	608409_24	Mpatso aqinai leer' (women seated)		P					Africa, Figures, Ethnography		
	608409_25	Formal group		P					Africa, Figures		
	608409_26	women working		P					Africa, Figures, Labour, Ethnography		
	608409_27	building and Figures		P					Africa, Mission, Figures		
	608409_28	man working wood		P					Africa, Figure, Portrait, Ethnography		
	608409_29	Formal group outside building		P					Africa, Mission, Figures		
	608409_30	Formal group outside building with white woman		P					Africa, Mission, Figures (white)		
	608409_31	brick building, cattle & Figures		P					Africa, Figures, Buildings, Animals		
	608409_32	Men & hippo		P					Africa, Figures (white), Animals, Hunting		
	608409_33	Lindi, by Chi? ?'		P					Africa, Portrait, Ethnography		
	608409_34	Woman with arm missing		P					Africa, Portrait, Ethnography		
	608409_35	Old Bristol Coins 1464'		P	Dunscombe Optician, Bristol		553		Historical, Europe		
	608409_36	Naaman's Captive Maid	W. J. Webb (b. c. 1830)	I		[Mother Bible]		active 1853-1878, influenced by pre-Raphaelites esp. Holman Hunt (source: Wood 560)	Religious, Biblical, Old Testament,		
	608409_37	Parable of the Leaven	W. J. Webb (b. c. 1830)	I		[Mother Bible]		active 1853-1878, influenced by pre-Raphaelites esp. Holman Hunt (source: Wood 560). Image also found in Mother Stories from the New Testament (Philadelphia: Altemus, 1906) http://www.gutenberg.org/files/17163/17163-h/17163-h.htm	Religious, Biblical, New Testament,		
	608409_38	Entry into Jerusalem'		II(colour)	Newton & Co, London		256	permission Berlin photographic co	Religious, New Testament, Biblical, Christ,		
	608409_39	Formal group (white) 1913		P				label text obscured by binding, only date visible	Africa, Figures (white)		
	608409_40	Christ & children		I					Religious, Biblical, New Testament, Christ,		
	608409_41	Christ tempted by Satan'	Georg Cornicelius (1825-1898)	II(colour)	Newton & Co, London		52	Copyright Franz Hanfstaengl; note Satan as black figure behind; initials S.D.	Religious, Biblical, New Testament, Christ, , Portrait		
	608409_42	Christ crucified		II(colour)					Religious, Biblical, New Testament, Christ,		
	608409_43	Christ blessing little children'		II(colour)	Newtonian		18	permission H. Graves & Co. [1910s]	Religious, Biblical, New Testament, Christ,		
	608409_44	Descent from the cross'	Jean-Baptiste Juvenet (1644-1717)	II(colour)	Newton & Co. London			French religious painter	Religious, Biblical, New Testament, Christ,		
	608409_45	Christ with the doctors'		II(colour)	Newton & Co. London		23	permission H. Graves & Co.	Religious, Biblical, New Testament, Christ,		
	608409_46	Camp, men & antelope carcass		P					Africa, Figures (white), Animals, Hunting		
	605409_47	Tempaltjes Voor geesten'		P					Africa, Buildings, Ethnography		
	605409_48	Waterfall & Figures		P					Africa, Figures, (white), Landscape		
	605409_49	Antelope		P					Africa, Animals		
	605409_50	Lion		P					Africa, Animals, Hunting		
	605409_51	Warthog		P					Africa, Animals, Hunting		
	605409_52	Elephant		P					Africa, Animals, Hunting		
	605409_53	Pone over Bua R'		P					Africa, Figures, Ethnography, Boats		
	605409_54	elephant & hunters		P					Africa, Animals, Hunting		
	605409_55	hunter & rhino		P					Africa, Animals, Hunting, Figures (white)		
	605409_56	cattle outside thatched building		P					Africa, Animals, Buildings, Ethnography		
	605409_57	tree & broken gourds		P					Africa, Ethnography		
	605409_58	men brick making		P					Africa, Labour, Figures, Ethnography		
	605409_59	camp under tree		P					Africa, Figures (white)		
	605409_60	cattle & Figures under tree		P					Africa, Figures, Animals		

	605409_61	The Light of the World'	William Holman Hunt	I(b&w)	Church Army Lantern Department, Edgware Road, London	NT	163		Religious,		
	605409_62	Ornamenten, in Curios blazen mit Goad zu Zilver'				with 608409_21			Africa, Figures, Labour, Ethnography		
	716401_1	Odala ali oyera mtima'		text				4 1/4 x 3 1/4"	Africa, Text, Religious		
	716401_2	There is a fountain'		text				4 x 3 1/4 " (Standard European/American size)	Africa, Text, Religious		
	716401_3	elephant carcass		P(neg)				4 x 3 1/4 " (Standard European/American size)	Africa, Animals, Hunting		
	716401_4	African portrait		P(neg)				4 x 3 1/4 " (Standard European/American size)	Africa, Portrait, Ethnography		
	716401_5	brick church exterior		P(neg)				4 3/4 x 4"	Africa, Buildings, Mission, Church		
	716401_6	crowd/congregation		P(neg)				4 3/4 x 4"	Africa, Figures, Mission		
	716401_7	columned building		P(neg)				4 3/4 x 4"	Buildings, Architecture		
	716401_8	industrial Buildings		P				4 3/4 x 4"	Buildings, Labour		
	716401_9	Street Johannesburg'		P				4 3/4 x 4"	Africa, Urban, Figures, Buildings		
	716401_10	Hermanus'		P	T.D.R	With WB_5	1511 PC	6 1/2 x 3 1/4"	Africa, Landscape, Figures, (white)		
	716401_11	Statue & Buildings		P(neg)		linked to 716401_7?		6 1/2 x 3 1/4"	Buildings, Statue		
	716401_12	church exterior		P(neg)				6 1/2 x 3 1/4"	Religious, Buildings, Church		
	716401_13	?Cecil Rhodes		P					Africa, Portrait, Figures (white)		
	716401_14	Port Sunlight: A Village Boulevard		P		Port Sunlight			Europe (England), Buildings		
	716401_15	Mochudi ...'		P			217		Africa, Landscape, Ethnography		
	716401_16	Market Square - Johannesburg'		P			208		Africa (South Africa), Figures, Buildings		
	716401_17	Effects of Hail'		P	Merc & S.S.			Dated 1902	Africa, Figures (white)		
	716401_18	Jonkershoek'		P					Africa (South Africa), Landscape		
	716401_19	Jonkershoek'		P					Africa (South Africa), Landscape		
	716401_20	Stamping Battery Johannesburg'		P					Africa (South Africa), Urban, Labour		
	716401_21	Port Sunlight: Men's Club and Bowling Green'		P		Port Sunlight			Europe (England), Buildings		
	716401_22	Jonkershoek'		P					Africa (South Africa), Landscape, Figures, (white)		
	716401_23	Port Sunlight: A Characteristic Bit'		P		Port Sunlight			Europe (England), Buildings, Figures		
	716401_24	Jonkershoek'		P					Africa, Landscape, Figures, (white)		
	716401_25	Major General French'	D.M.	P	W. Watson & Sons, High Holborn, London (Manufacturer); D.M.			Field Marshal John Denton Pinkstone French, 1st Earl of Ypres (1852-1925)	Portrait, Europe (Britain)		
	716401_26	JHBurg. ?? Gold Mine'		P(colour)			14945		Africa (South Africa), Labour, Buildings		
	716401_27	Dutch Reformed Church Capetown'		P					Africa (South Africa), Religious, Buildings		
	716401_28	waterfall		P					Africa, Figures (white), Landscape		
	716401_29	JHBurg. Crown mines bars of gold £25000'		P			16163		Africa (South Africa)		
	716401_30	JHBurg. [Gold mine]'		P				text faded	Africa (South Africa), Labour, Figures		
	716401_31	waterfall		P			163		Africa, Landscape		
	716401_32	Port Sunlight: A Pretty Corner'		P		Port Sunlight			Europe (England), Buildings		
	716401_33	Port Sunlight: A Quaint Row of Cottages'		P		Port Sunlight			Europe (England), Buildings		
	716401_34	Port Sunlight: 'The Village Schools'		P		Port Sunlight			Europe (England), Buildings, Figures		
	716401_35	Between the chains. Johannesburg'		P					Africa (South Africa), Buildings, Figures		

	716401_36	Palace Buildings - Johannesburg'		P		with 716401_38	210		Africa (South Africa) Buildings, Figures		
	716401_37	Washing Clothes'		P			64		Africa, Figures, Landscape		
	716401_38	Grand National Hotel - Johannesburg'		P		with 716401_36	211		Africa (South Africa), Buildings, Figures		
	716401_39	Bantray Bay. The Long Trail - [ ] Cape Town'		p			5 or 24		Africa (South Africa), Landscape		
	716401_40	View up Keurdooms River'		P			7		Africa (South Africa), Landscape		
	716401_41	Tree lined street		P					Buildings, Religious		
	716401_42	Berg River Hoek '		P					Africa (South Africa), Landscape		
	716401_43	The Fisheries Jonkershoek '		P					Africa (South Africa), Landscape, Buildings		
	716401_44	Cape Diamond and Gold Mine'		P	York & Son, London		38	In/after 1890. Source: Lucema	Africa (South Africa), Labour, Buildings, Landscape		
	716401_45	General Botha & his sons'		P					Africa (South Africa), Portrait, Figures (white)		
	716401_46	Dutch Reformed Church Capetown'		P			22		Africa (South Africa), Religious, Buildings		
	716401_47	Luka Jantje'		P					Africa, Portrait, Figures		
	Drawer1_1	Cecil Rhodes		P					Africa, Portrait, Figures (white)		
	Drawer1_2	Rhodes' Grave		P		with Drawer1_5; 1_20		In/after 1902	Africa (Zimbaibwe), Landscape, Memorial		
	Drawer1_3	Unveiling statue [Rhodes?]		P					Memorial, Figures (white)		
	Drawer1_4	Coal from Wankies Matabeland'		P			317		Africa (Zimbaibwe), Labour		
	Drawer1_5	Rhodes' Grave		P		with Drawer1_2;: 1_20		In/after 1902	Africa (Zimbaibwe), Memorial		
	Drawer1_6	Figures by war memorial [Anglo-Boer?]		P					Africa, Memorial, Figures, (white)		
	Drawer1_7	Victoria Falls [Mosi-oa-Tunya]		P					Africa (Zambia/Zimbabwe), Landscape		
	Drawer1_8	From Bridge' [Victoria Falls [Mosi-oa-Tunya]]		P(colour)	Newton & Co., Fleet St., London				Africa (Zambia/Zimbabwe), Landscape		
	Drawer1_9	Victoria Falls [Mosi-oa-Tunya]		P					Africa (Zambia/Zimbabwe), Landscape		
	Drawer1_10	Figures by Victoria Falls [Mosi-oa-Tunya]		P					Africa (Zambia/Zimbabwe), Landscape, Figures, (white)		
	Drawer1_11	Boy at foot of tree		P				writing bottom LH corner indecipherable in my repro - name?; round-edged frame	Africa, Figures		
	Drawer1_12	Birds Eye View of Victoria Falls [Mosi-oa-Tunya]		I(colour)			2048		Africa (Zambia/Zimbabwe), Landscape		
	Drawer1_13	Zambesi Bridge'		P	E.Peters, Cape Town				Africa (Zambia/Zimbabwe), Buildings		
	Drawer1_14	Victoria Falls [Mosi-oa-Tunya]		P(colour)					Africa (Zambia/Zimbabwe), Landscape		
	Drawer1_15	Victoria Falls [Mosi-oa-Tunya]		P					Africa (Zambia/Zimbabwe)		
	Drawer1_16	Ruined settlement and Figures		P	Smart & Copley, Bulawayo			In/after 1900. Source: The Rhodesian Study Circle	Africa, Buildings, Figures (white)		
	Drawer1_17	Zambesi Bridge'		P		with Drawer1_13			Africa (Zambia/Zimbabwe), Labour		
	Drawer1_18	Zambesi Bridge		P	Smart & Copley, Bulawayo				Africa (Zambia/Zimbabwe), Labour		
	Drawer1_19	Victoria Falls [Mosi-oa-Tunya]		P				writing in bottom Rh and LH corners indecipherable in reproduction	Africa (Zambia/Zimbabwe)		
	Drawer1_20	Rhodes' Grave		P		with Drawer1_2; 1_5		In/afer 1902	Africa (Zimbaibwe), Memorial, Figures		
	Drawer1_21	Lobengulas Tree Bulawayo'		P				Lobengula Khumalo (1845–1894) - second and last king Northern Ndebele	Africa (Zimbaibwe), Memorial, Landscape		
	Drawer1_22	Victoria Falls [Mosi-oa-Tunya] - The Bridge'		P(colour)			11710		Africa (Zambia/Zimbabwe)		
	Drawer1_23	Victoria Falls [Mosi-oa-Tunya] / ' Coach in Rhodesia'		P		Victoria Falls	85		Africa (Zambia/Zimbabwe), Figures (white), Animals		
	Drawer1_24	Victoria Falls [Mosi-oa-Tunya] bridge		P					Africa (Zambia/Zimbabwe), Buildings		
	Drawer1_25	Large tree with hat		P			19		Africa		

	Drawer1_26	Victoria Falls [Mosi-oa-Tunya] bridge		P					Africa (Zambia/Zimbabwe)		
	Drawer1_27	Victoria Falls [Mosi-oa-Tunya] bridge		P					Africa (Zambia/Zimbabwe)		
	Drawer1_28	Victoria Falls [Mosi-oa-Tunya]. Dining Room Hotel'		P			457		Africa (Zambia/Zimbabwe), Buildings, Interior		
	Drawer1_29	David Livingstone 1816 - '		I				label added at top: 'Died at Old Chitambo NE Rhod 1.5.1873'; writing bottom RH corner indecipherable in reproduction.	Africa, Portrait, Figures (white), Mission		
	Drawer1_30	Map of the Victoria Falls [Mosi-oa-Tunya]'		I		JDC	1		Africa (Zambia/Zimbabwe), Map		
	Drawer1_31	V. Falls View from ?park?		P				writing below indecipherable	Africa (Zambia/Zimbabwe), Landscape, Figures (white)		
	Drawer1_32	Victoria Falls [Mosi-oa-Tunya]		P					Africa (Zambia/Zimbabwe), Landscape		
	Drawer1_33	Victoria Falls [Mosi-oa-Tunya]		P(colour)					Africa (Zambia/Zimbabwe), Landscape		
	Drawer1_34	Zambesi Entering Gorge'		P	E.Peters, Cape Town		56		Africa (Zambia/Zimbabwe), Landscape		
	Drawer1_35	Zambesi Tree'		P		Victoria Falls	96		Africa, Figures		
	Drawer1_36	The Livingstone Name Tree'		P					Africa, Memorial, Figures (white), Mission		
	Drawer1_37	Reproduction of 1841 letter of recommendation by D. Livingstone		P					Text, Mission		
	Drawer1_38	Mr Rhodes Farm in the Matopos'		P					Africa (Zimbabwe), Figures (white), Buildings		
	Drawer1_39	Plinth & plaque		P		cf Drawer1_5			Africa, Memorial		
	Drawer1_40	David Livingstone'		I	G.W. Wilson, Aberdeen		28	Portrait from life'	Portrait, Mission, Figures (white)		
	Drawer1_41	Tree		P					Africa, Figures		
	Drawer1_42	Memorial		P					Memorial, Buildings, Figures (white)		
	Drawer1_43	Victoria Falls [Mosi-oa-Tunya] Bridge		P			30	JDC. After 1905	Africa (Zambia/Zimbabwe), Landscape		
	Drawer1_44	V. Falls Landing Stage'		P(colour)			11647	Kandahar15'	Africa (Zambia/Zimbabwe), Landscape, Figures		
	Drawer1_45	European women and man in tropical undergrowth		P					Africa, Figures, (white)		
	Drawer1_46	Victoria Falls [Mosi-oa-Tunya]		P(colour)			10	JDC	Africa (Zambia/Zimbabwe), Landscape		
	Drawer1_47	The Great Wall Zimbabwe'		P	Newton & Co				Africa (Zimbabwe), Buildings		
	Drawer1_48	Waterfall & walkways		P					Africa, Landscape		
	Drawer1_49	Cecil Rhodes		P			37		Portrait, Africa, Figures (white)		
	Drawer1_50	African man and Zimbabwe ruins		P			9		Africa (Zimbabwe), Figures, Buildings		
	Drawer1_51	Zimbabwe Ruins		P	Newton & Co				Africa (Zimbabwe), Buildings		
	Drawer1_52	European Figures at Zimbabwe ruins		P					Africa (Zimbabwe), Figures (white), Buildings		
	Drawer1_53	European Figures at Zimbabwe ruins		P					Africa (Zimbabwe), Figures (white), Buildings		
	Drawer1_54	Zimbabwe Ruins		P					Africa (Zimbabwe), Buildings		
	Drawer1_55	Man climbing tower at Zimbabwe ruins		P					Africa (Zimbabwe), Buildings, Figures		
	Drawer1_56	The Conical Tower, Zimbabwe Ruins, Rhodesia'		P	Newton & Co				Africa (Zimbabwe), Buildings		
	Drawer1_57	Zimbabwe Ruins		P					Africa (Zimbabwe), Buildings, Figures		
	Drawer1_58	Zimbabwe Ruins		P			23		Africa (Zimbabwe), Buildings, Figures		
	Drawer1_59	Zimbabwe Ruins		P			24		Africa (Zimbabwe), Buildings, Figures		
	Drawer1_60	Zimbabwe Ruins		P	Newton & Co				Africa (Zimbabwe), Buildings, Figures (white)		
	Drawer2_1	Egypt pyramid & sphinx with crowd		P		Egypt			Africa (Egypt), Figures (white), Memorial		
	Drawer2_2	Women getting water from Nile'		P		Egypt	25		Africa (Egypt), Figures, Ethnography		

	Drawer2_3	The Ghezireh Palace'		P		Egypt	12		Africa (Egypt), Figures (white), Buildings			
	Drawer2_4	Sultan Zanzibar [... Hamoud]		P				Possibly Hamoud bin Mohammed, ruled 1896-1902, knighted by Queen Elizabeth for abolishing slavery in 1897.	Africa (Zanzibar), Figures			
	Drawer2_5	Formal group black women		P			A725	Caption obscured by mount	Figures, Portrait, Africa			
	Drawer2_6	Pyramid & Sphinx		P					Africa (Egypt), Buildings, Memorial			
	Drawer2_7	H.H. Palace Zanzibar'		P					Africa (Zanzibar), Buildings			
	Drawer2_8	Egyptian Figures in front of Rameses II statue		P		Egypt			Africa (Egypt), Figures, Memorial			
	Drawer2_9	Suez Canal, a station and a few miles beyond'		P	Newton & Co		24	WL	Africa (Egypt), Landscape			
	Drawer2_10	6 [...] leading out [cow]'		P	Newton & Co		101		Portrait, Africa, Ethnography, Animals, Figures			
	Drawer2_11	Boy & donkey		P					Africa, Figures, Ethnography, Animals			
	Drawer2_12	A Zanzibar Scout Taking Notes'		I	Newton & Co	The Pygmies at Home	34	Copyright Sampson, Low, Marston & Co	Africa (Zanzibar), Ethnography, Figures			
	Drawer2_13	Mosque of Omar, Jerusalem'		P			23	M. Glassberg PAARL	Holy Land, Buildings, Religious, Figures			
	Drawer2_14	English Church Decorated for Easter'		P			20		Europe (England), Religious, Buildings, Interior			
	Drawer2_15	Sphinx & Pyramid, Cairo'		P	Newton & Co		68	MQ	Africa (Egypt), Buildings, Memorial			
	Drawer2_16	Head of Rameses II'		P	Newton & Co		121	MQ	Africa (Egypt), Portrait			
	Drawer2_17	Bethlehem'		P			4	M. Glassberg PAARL	Holy Land, Religious, Buildings, Landscape			
	Drawer2_18	Coral Zanzibar'		P					Africa (Zanzibar)			
	Drawer2_19	Die Moschee'		P					Religious, Buildings			
	Drawer2_20	Man on horseback		P					Africa, Portrait, Figures, Animals, Ethnography			
	Drawer2_21	Two women at the mill'		P			524		Figures, Portrait, Ethnography, Labour			
	Drawer2_22	Muhammad Ali Pasha Mosque, Cairo		P		Egypt	10		Africa (Egypt), Buildings, Religious			
	Drawer2_23	Arabian Wedding, Cairo'		P					Africa (Egypt), Figures, Animals, Ethnography			
	Drawer2_24	Largest elephant tusks ever found'		P					Africa, Figures, Buildings			
	Drawer2_25	Coffee Seller Port Said'		P					Africa (Egypt), Portrait, Figures, Ethnographic			
	Drawer2_26	The Great Pyramid'		P	Newton & Co		54	MQ	Africa (Egypt), Buildings			
	Drawer2_27	Egyptian Cart, Cairo'		P					Africa (Egypt), Figures, Ethnography, Animals			
	Drawer2_28	Cairo'		P	Newton & Co		49	MQ	Africa (Egypt), Buildings			
	Drawer2_29	Two women milling		P					Africa, Labour, Figures, Ethnography			
	Drawer2_30	Portrait		P			683		Portrait, Ethnography, Africa, Figures			
	Drawer2_31	Suez Canal & Arab Village'		P	Newton & Co		25	WL	Africa (Egypt), Figures, Buildings, Boats			
	Drawer2_32	Arab Traveller'		P					Portrait, Ethnographic, Africa, Animals			
	Drawer2_33	Climbing the Pyramids'		P	Newton & Co		68	MQ	Africa (Egypt), Figures (white), Buildings			
	Drawer2_34	Heliopolis, Cairo		P		Egypt	17		Africa (Egypt), Memorial			
	Drawer2_35	Drakensburg: 'The Sentinel Mont and Source'		P(colour)		Drakensberg		Neg no 8646	Africa (South Africa), Landscape			
	Drawer2_36	Road to Uniondale'		P					Africa (South Africa), Landscape			
	Drawer2_37	Van Stadens River'		P					Africa (South Africa), Landscape			
	Drawer2_38	Port Alfred Kowie River'		P(colour)			15		Africa (South Africa), Landscape, Buildings			
	Drawer2_39	Bridge at Ceres'		P				Edward Steer	Africa (South Africa), Landscape			

	Drawer2_40	Kafir Floods'		P					Africa, Boats, Figures		
	Drawer2_41	Mitchell's Pass Canes'		P					Africa (South Africa), Landscape		
	Drawer2_42	Montagu Pass'		P			83		Africa (South Africa), Landscape, Animals, Figures		
	Drawer2_43	Montagu Pass'		P			86		Africa, Landscape, Figures		
	Drawer2_44	Pharaohs' Mummie'		P				M. Glassberg. Paarl	Africa (Egypt), Portrait		
	Drawer2_45	Cairo		P			12	M. Glassberg. Paarl	Africa (Egypt), Buildings, Landscape, Figures		
	Drawer2_46	Devil's Chimney		P(colour)		Drakensberg	8616		Africa (South Africa), Landscape		
	Drawer3_1	Duke of Wellington Statue'		P		London	13		Europe (England), Memorial		
	Drawer3_2	God Save the Queen		text					Europe (Britain), Text		
	Drawer3_3	First Greeting of HM Queen Victoria'		I					Europe (Britain), Figures		
	Drawer3_4	The Queen's Portrait'		P	G.W. Wilson, Aberdeen		1		Europe (Britain), Portrait, Figures		
	Drawer3_5	King George V & Queen Mary		P					Europe (Britain), Portrait, Figures		
	Drawer3_6	[Princess]		P(colour)	Newton & Co			by permission W & D Downey	Europe (Britain), Portrait, Figures		
	Drawer3_7	After Opening Parliament'		P					Europe (England), Buildings, Animals, Figures		
	Drawer3_8	Duke of Wellington'		I					Portrait, Europe (Britain), Figures		
	Drawer3_9	King & Queen, Buckingham'		P		with Drawer3_7			Europe (England), Figures, Animals, Memorial		
	Drawer3_10	Map of Brittany		I	?Newton & Co			Great Western Railways	Europe (France), Map		
	Drawer3_11	William Gladstone		P			11		Europe (Britain), Portrait		
	Drawer3_12	Trafalgar Square from National Gallery'		P		Modern Babylon: A Trip to London	38		Europe (England), Buildings		
	Drawer3_13	The Bank of England'		P	Newton & Co		41		Europe (England), Buildings, Figures		
	Drawer3_14	Regent Castle Front'		P					Europe, Buildings		
	Drawer3_15	First Sale of Sugar in the Market Square of Durban'		I				from Illustrated London News 1850; handwritten notes on slide	Africa (South Africa), Figures (white), Buildings, Animals		
	Drawer3_16	The Blue Drawing Room, Buckingham Palace'		P(colour)			46		Europe (England), Buildings, Interior		
	Drawer3_17	Crown Jewels		P(colour)			39		Europe (England), Buildings, Interior		
	Drawer3_18	Queen Victoria		P		Celebrities from Life			Europe (Britain), Portrait		
	Drawer3_19	?Prince Alfred, Duke of Saxonby		P(colour)					Europe (Britain), Portrait		
	Drawer3_20	Buckingham Palace'		P(colour)					Europe (England), Buildings		
	Drawer3_21	Buckingham Throne'		P(colour)	? Shaftesbury Ave, London		14		Europe (England), Buildings, Interior		
	Drawer3_22	Queen - Princess Beatrice, Princess Hohenlohe, Princess Ena of Battenberg'		P				Princess Beatrice, daughter of Queen Victoria, Princess Hohenlohe of Austria (from marriage in 1914)	Europe (Britain), Portrait		
	Drawer3_23	Lynmouth - Old Cottages from the Pier'		P	[Wrench & Son]	Scenery of Devonshire'	3	In/before 1889. Source: Lucerna	Europe (England), Landscape, Buildings		
	Drawer3_24	Tower Bridge		P		Bridges	48		Europe (England), Buildings		
	Drawer3_25	Rotten Row, London'		P	G.W. Wilson, Aberdeen	Modern Babylon: A Trip to London	49		Europe (England), Figures, Animals		
	Drawer3_26	Longest British Reign'		P/I					Europe (Britain), Portrait, Text		
	Drawer3_27	Lord's Chamber, Houses of Parliament, Westminster		P(colour)			51		Europe (England), Buildings, Interior		
	Drawer3_28	The River Thames'		P			44		Europe (England), Landscape, Boats		
	Drawer3_29	A Day's Holiday at Windsor'		P(colour)			29		Europe (England), Buildings		
	Drawer3_30	[Westminster interior?]		P(colour)			47		Europe (England), Buildings, Interior		

	Drawer3_31	Tower of London - Traitor's Gate		P		London	36		Europe (England), Buildings		
	Drawer3_32	English River Scenery'		P			20		Europe (England), Landscape, Buildings		
	Drawer3_33	Houses of Parliament from Thames'		P	G.W. Wilson, Aberdeen	Modern Babylon: A Trip to London	20		Europe (England), Buildings, Boats		
	Drawer3_34	British Museum'		P	Newton & Co				Europe (England) Buildings		
	Drawer3_35	Bluff Lighthouse' [Port Natal, SA]		P					Africa (South Africa), Buildings		
	Drawer3_36	Temple Church'		P		London Lecture	23		Europe (England), Religious, Buildings		
	Drawer3_37	Temple Bar		P		London	27		Europe (England), Buildings		
	Drawer3_38	The River Thames'		P			55		Europe (England), Landscape, Buildings, Boats		
	Drawer3_39	England Expects.../Lord Nelson statue		P/text			G23	After 1903 (Topical Press Agency est. 1903)	Europe (England), Memorials		
	Drawer3_40	Tower' [of London]		P	Newton & Co				Europe (England), Buildings		
	Drawer3_41	Cheapside with traffic'		P					Europe (England), Figures, Buildings		
	Drawer3_42	Greenwich Observatory'		P	GWW				Europe (England), Buildings, Landscape		
	Drawer3_43	Piccadilly Circus'		P	G.W. Wilson	Modern Babylon: A Trip to London	45	In/before 1891; info on Lucerna	Europe (England), Buildings, Figures		
	Drawer3_44	Micklegate Bar, York'		P	York Photographic Society				Europe (England), Buildings		
	Drawer3_45	Westminster [Abbey] Nave'		P					Europe (England), Religious, Buildings, Interior		
	Drawer3_46	St Paul's Cathedral from SW'		P	G.W. Wilson, Aberdeen	English Cathedrals	7		Europe (England), Religious, Buildings,		
	Drawer3_47	Crystal Palace, London		P					Europe (England), Buildings, , Landscape		
	Drawer3_48	Ludgate Circus'		P	G.W. Wilson, Aberdeen	Modern Babylon	41	In/before 1891; info on Lucerna	Europe (England), Buildings, Figures		
	Drawer3_49	Regent Street'		P	G.W. Wilson, Aberdeen	Modern Babylon	44	In/before 1891; info on Lucerna	Europe (England), Buildings, Figures		
	Drawer3_50	Mansion House from Royal Exchange'		P	Newton & Co		511		Europe (England), Buildings, Figures		
	Drawer3_51	Anti-aircraft ready to fire'		P		Series with Drawer3_7			Europe, Figures		
	Drawer3_52	Street scene		P					Europe, Buildings, Figures		
	Drawer3_53	Buckingham Palace from the Mall		P	EG Wood (London)				Europe (England), Buildings, , Memorial		
	Drawer3_54	Thames Embankment from Charing Cross		P					Europe (England), Landscape, Buildings, Figures		
	Drawer3_55	Memorial to Duke of Kent		P	York and Son, London	A Day's Holiday at Windsor	9	In/before 1891; info on Lucerna	Europe (England), Memorials, Buildings, Interior		
	Drawer4_1	Cleopatra's Needle, Thames Embankment'		P			23		Europe (England), Monuments, Figures		
	Drawer4_2	?Pilgrim Fathers?		I			8		America?, Figures		
	Drawer4_3	Jones' Mansion in 18th Century'		I				REF	Europe (England), Buildings,		
	Drawer4_4	Lambeth Palace and Pier'		P	South London Photographic Society		21		Europe (England), Landscape, Buildings, Boats		
	Drawer4_5	London Hansom'		P	G.W. Wilson, Aberdeen				Europe (England), Animals, Figures		
	Drawer4_6	Darwin'		P			20		Europe (Britain), Portrait		
	Drawer4_7	Portrait of Shakespeare'		I			31		Europe (Britain), Portrait		
	Drawer4_8	Isaac Watts memorial, Westminster Abbey		P					Europe (England), Memorial, Interior, Religious		
	Drawer4_9	The Terrace, Bunkern Park'		P				Stoke on Trent, England	Europe (England), Buildings, Landscape		
	Drawer4_10	British Submarine Travelling at Full Speed'		P	Newtonian		133	Z.W./E.G. initials	Europe (Britain), Boats		
	Drawer4_11	England expects that every man will do business as usual'		I				MAC 1914	Europe (England), Figures, Text		
	Drawer4_12	St. Paul's Cross'		I	Newton & Co				Europe (England), Buildings, Religious,		

	Drawer4_13	Interior of St. Paul's'		P		London Lecture	25		Europe (England), Buildings, Religious, Interior			
	Drawer4_14	Choir, St Paul's Cathedral'		P		Modern Babylon	4		Europe (England), Buildings, Religious, Interior			
	Drawer4_15	Westminster'		P	Newton & Co. London				Europe (England), Buildings, Religious,			
	Drawer4_16	Nave of Westminster'		P					Europe (England), Buildings, Religious, Interior			
	Drawer4_17	Old Curiosity Shop'		P		Picturesque London	32		Europe (England), Buildings			
	Drawer4_18	[Valley of Rocks, Lynton]		P	[Wrench & Son, England]	Scenery of Devonshire	8	1889 or after; info on Lucerna	Europe (England), Landscape			
	Drawer4_19	'The Call of the Blood'		I				MAC 1914	Animals, Text			
	Drawer4_20	Nelson's Column, London		P					Europe (England), Monuments			
	Drawer5_1	"The Kabinga" entering Buffalo Harbour'		P(colour)			19078	"The Kabinga was captured by the Emden [German ship], but released as an act of courtesy [1914]"	Europe, Boats			
	Drawer5_2	Liverpool to Chicago' [Buffet car interior]		P(colour)			24 or 12		America (US), Railways, Interior			
	Drawer5_3	Railway lines		P					Railways			
	Drawer5_4	City Hall and Pulitzer Building, New York'		P(colour)			3		America (US), Buildings			
	Drawer5_5	Ship		P					Boats			
	Drawer5_6	Rapids, under Railway Suspension Bridge, Niagara'		P(colour)			50		America (US), Landscape, Railways			
	Drawer5_7	St. Patricks R.C. New York '		P					America (US), Buildings, Religious, Interior			
	Drawer5_8	The City of New York '		I			1		America (US), Map			
	Drawer5_9	William McKinley, President'		P				In office March 4, 1897 – September 14, 1901	America (US), Portrait			
	Drawer5_10	St. Patricks N.Y. Pulpit'		P					America (US), Buildings, Religious, Interior			
	Drawer5_11	St. Patricks (R.C.) New York' [interior]		P					America (US), Buildings, Religious, Interior			
	Drawer5_12	Talmage'		P				James Talmage (1862-1933), Church of the Latter Day Saints incl. head of European Mission	America (US), Portrait			
	Drawer5_13	Life: Real Estate Number' cover		I				March 4 1909	America (US), Buildings, Text			
	Drawer5_14	Bridge, Niagara		P(colour)					America (US), Landscape			
	Drawer5_15	American Falls from Below, Winter - Niagara'		P(colour)					America (US), Landscape			
	Drawer5_16	Chicago Auditorium'		P(colour)			40		America (US), Buildings,			
	Drawer5_17	Chestnut Steeet, Philadelphia'		P(colour)			19		America (US), Buildings,			
	Drawer5_18	St. Patricks Cathedral N.Y. '		P					America (US), Buildings, , Religious			
	Drawer5_19	Niagara, Terragin Tower'		P			19	Tower built 1833	America (US), Landscape			
	Drawer5_20	Masonic Temple, Chicago		P					America (US), Buildings,			
	Drawer5_21	Liverpool to Chicago'		P(colour)			14 or 18		America (US), Railways, Landscape			
	Drawer5_22	Horse drawn Sled		P					Animals, Figures, Buildings			
	Drawer5_23	Wheat Map of Manitoba 1895'		I			25		America (US), Map			
	Drawer5_24	Union Stock Yards, Chicago'		P					America (US), Animals			
	Drawer5_25	Stock Yards, Chicago		P					America (US), Animals			
	Drawer5_26	Longfellow's House, Cambridge, Mass.'		P(colour)			32		America (US), Buildings,			
	Drawer5_27	Map of France		I	Newton & Co. London (Makers)			By permission Longmans Green & Co.	Europe (France), Map			
	Drawer5_28	Our Martyred Presidents'		P				Abraham Lincoln, James A. Garfield, and William McKinley; cf. 1901 film 'The Martyred Presidents'	America (US), Portrait			
	Drawer5_29	Niagara Falls		P					America (US), Landscape			

	Drawer5_30	Statue New York Harbour'		P					America (US), Memorial, Figures		
	Drawer5_31	Broadway, New York'		P(colour)			7		America (US), Buildings, Figures		
	Drawer5_32	White House, South Front, Washington'		P(colour)			24		America (US), Buildings,		
	Drawer5_33	Masonic Temple, Chicago'		P(colour)			41		America (US), Buildings,		
	Drawer5_34	Lisbon, Roly Motion Square'		P					Europe (Portugal), Buildings, Figures, Memorial		
	Drawer5_35	The Bay of Naples'		P			23		Europe (Italy), Landscape, Buildings, Boats		
	Drawer5_36	Moscow, Great Bell'		P					Europe (Russia), Buildings		
	Drawer5_37	Lucerne. The Hofkirche'		P	Newton & Co		1	Switzerland	Europe (Switzerland), Landscape, Buildings, Religious		
	Drawer5_38	Lake of Lucerne'		P	Newton & CO		4		Europe (Switzerland), Landscape, Buildings, Boats		
	Drawer5_39	Swiss mountain railway		P(colour)		Swiss	16		Europe (Switzerland), Landscape, Railways, Figures		
	Drawer5_40	? From Dibni'		P	Newton & Co		71		Europe, Landscape		
	Drawer5_41	'Matterhorn from Zermatt'		P	Newton & Co		75		Europe (Switzerland), Landscape		
	Drawer5_42	Gepsau, Lucerne'		P	Newton & Co				Europe (Switzerland), Landscape, Buildings		
	Drawer5_43	Grand Canón of the Arkensas'		P(colour)			14		America (US), Landscape, Railways		
	Drawer5_44	Lisbon. 'Modern City'		P	Newton & Co		12		Europe (Portugal), Buildings		
	Drawer5_45	Louis XIV'		I	Newton & Co			By Permission Mssrs Macmillan	Europe (France), Portrait		
	Drawer 5_46	Vatican Corridor'		P			1018		Europe (Italy), Religious, Buildings, Interior		
	Drawer5_47	Tacoronte Hotel		P	Newton & Co				Europe, Buildings,		
	Drawer5_48	Paris Building		P		Paris			Europe (France), Buildings,		
	Drawer5_49	Selous'		P				British hunter/explorer in SE Africa 1851-1917	Europe (Britain), Africa, Portrait		
	Drawer5_50	The Bay of Naples'		P			1		Europe (Italy), Landscape, Buildings		
	Drawer5_51	Naples		P			567		Europe (Italy), Landscape, Buildings		
	Drawer5_52	German Prisoners'		P		Series with Drawer3_7			Europe (Germany), Figures		
	Drawer5_53	Restaurant		P	Newton & CO				Europe, Figures, Buildings,		
	Drawer5_54	Lisbon, General View'		P					Europe (Italy), Landscape, Buildings		
	Drawer6_1	What will it be to see Jesus'		Text					Religious, Text		
	Drawer6_2	Introduction		Text					Text		
	Drawer6_3	Dunfermline Abbey. 1569'		P(colour)	G.W. Wilson, Aberdeen		52		Europe (Scotland), Buildings, Religious		
	Drawer6_4	Interior of House of Commons, Westminster		P(colour)			52		Europe (England), Buildings, Interior		
	Drawer6_5	The Union Jack'		II(colour)		The Transvaal War	61		Europe (Britain)		
	Drawer6_6	Versailles Villa'		P		Paris			Europe (France), Landscape, Buildings		
	Drawer6_7	Coronation'		II(colour)			8		Europe (England), Buildings, Interior		
	Drawer6_8	Lake Restaurant		P		Paris			Europe (France), Landscape, Buildings		
	Drawer6_9	Empress Josephine'		I	Newton & Co		10	AWY	Europe (France), Portrait		
	Drawer6_10	Louis XVI'		I	Newton & Co		1	BEV	Europe (France), Portrait		
	Drawer6_11	King Edward VII		P(colour)					Europe (Britain), Portrait		
	Drawer6_12	Queen Victoria		P(colour)					Europe (Britain), Portrait		

	Drawer6_13	Grand Staircase, Buckingham Palace'		P(colour)			41		Europe (England), Buildings, Interior		
	Drawer6_14	The State Dining Room, Buckingham Palace'		P(colour)			43		Europe (England), Buildings, Interior		
	Drawer6_15	A Magestic Sitting Room, Buckingham Palace'		P(colour)			45		Europe (England), Buildings, Interior		
	Drawer6_16	The Green Drawing Room, Buckingham Palace'		P(colour)			48		Europe (England), Buildings, Interior		
	Drawer6_17	Iona Cathedral'		P	York and Son, London	Highlands of Scotland	13	J.W.McCall - reading available at MLS; dated in or before 1887	Europe (Scotland), Religious, Buildings		
	Drawer6_18	The Yellow Drawing Room, Buckingham Palace'		P(colour)			44		Europe (England), Buildings, Interior		
	Drawer6_19	Buckingham Palace, perspective'		P(colour)	York and Son, London	A Day in London	14	Miss Amy Croft - reading available at MLS; earliest poss. date 1872 (Magic Lantern Society)	Europe (England), Buildings,		
	Drawer6_20	Taymouth Castle'		P	G.W. Wilson, Aberdeen		36		Europe (Scotland), Landscape, Buildings		
	Drawer6_21	Luss Straits, L[och] Lomond'		P	J. Valentine & Son, Dundee		808		Europe (Scotland), Landscape, Boats		
	Drawer6_22	Henry VII's Chapel'		P				Westminster Abbey	Europe (England), Religious, Buildings, Interior		
	Drawer6_23	Highland Bullock'		P					Europe (Scotland), Animals		
	Drawer6_24	Aberdeen'		P			31		Europe (Scotland), Landscape, Buildings		
	Drawer6_25	Bridge over Knysna River'		P				Western Cape	Africa (South Africa), Landscape		
	Drawer6_26	Piper Findlater'		P				Awarded Victoria Cross 1897	Europe (Scotland), Portrait		
	Drawer6_27	The Time is Short'		Text					Religious, Text		
	Drawer6_28	Stand Up! Stand up for Jesus'		Text					Religious, Text		
	Drawer6_29	Rescue the perishing'		Text					Religious, Text		
	Drawer6_30	Love lifted me'		Text					Religious, Text		
	Drawer6_31	They are nailed to the cross'		Text					Religious, Text		
	Drawer6_32	He died of a broken heart'		Text					Religious, Text		
	WB_1	Market Square, Johannesburg'		P				163x83	Africa (South Africa), Labour, Figures, Buildings		
	WB_2	Bath, Caledon'		P	T.D.R		654	163x83; after 1899 when front building completed	Africa (South Africa), Buildings,		
	WB_3	Rhodes Monuments Gardens'		P				163x83	Africa (South Africa), Monument		
	WB_4	Falls ??'		P				163x83	Africa, Landscape		
	WB_5	Hermanus'		P				163x83	Africa (South Africa), Landscape, Figures (white)		
	WB_6	Railway		P				163x83	Africa, Landscape, Railways		
	WB_7	Brandulei'		P				163x83	Africa (South Africa), Landscape, Buildings		
	WB_8	Bath Mantagu'		P				163x83	Africa (South Africa), Figures (white), Buildings		
	WB_9	Berg River French Hock'		P	T.D.R		1294 PC	163x83	Africa (South Africa), Landscape		
	WB_10	Heidelberg II Part		P	T.D.R		1538 PC	163x83	Africa (South Africa), Landscape, Buildings		
	WB_11	Pier Cape Town'		P				163x83	Africa (South Africa), Figures (white), Buildings		
	WB_12	Pier Cape Town'		P				163x83	Africa (South Africa), Figures (white), Buildings		
	WB_13	Clanwilliam'		P				163x83	Africa (South Africa), Landscape, Buildings		
	WB_14	The Inquiry near Caesarea Philippi'		I(colour)	Eyre & Spottiswoode			82x82	Religious, Biblical, New Testament,		
	WB_15	Could you not watch with me...'	Heinrich Hoffmann	I(colour)	Newton & Co., Fleet St., London	La Vie de Jesus	20		Religious, Biblical, New Testament, Christ,		
	WB_16	Presentation in the Temple'		I(colour)	Newton & Co., Fleet St., London		9	Permission Messrs H. Graves	Religious, Biblical, New Testament, Christ,		
	WB_17	Trees		I(colour)			9		Religious, Biblical, Holy Land		

	WB_18	(biblical) town		I(colour)			5		Religious, Biblical, Holy Land		
	WB_19	(biblical) town		I(colour)			2		Religious, Biblical, Holy Land		
	WB_20	(biblical) town		I(colour)			1		Religious, Biblical, Holy Land		
	WB_21	Map of Jerusalem		I					Religious, Holy Land, Map		
	WB_22	Flight to Egypt		I(colour)					Religious, Biblical, New Testament, Christ,		
	WB_23	Feeding the multitude'		I(colour)	Newton & Co., Fleet St., London		11		Religious, Biblical, New Testament, Christ,		
	WB_24	Group portrait with Dr & Mrs Murray		P					Africa (South Africa), Figures (white), portrait		
	WB_25	De Uitstorting van den Heiligen Geest'		Text					Religious, Text		
	WB_26	Mary Magdalene & Risen Christ		I					Religious, Christ, Biblical, New Testament,		
	WB_27	Moses and the serpent-staff		I					Religious, Biblical, Old Testament,		
	WB_28	Elijah fed by ravens		I					Religious, Biblical, Old Testament,		
	WB_29	Crucifixion, burial, and resurrection appearance		I(colour)				number obscured	Religious, Biblical, Christ, New Testament,		
	WB_30	Christ prays in Garden, is arrested and tried		I(colour)			9		Religious, Biblical, Christ, New Testament,		
	WB_31	Jesus blesses children, raises Lazarus, and triumphal entry to Jerusalem		I(colour)			7		Religious, Biblical, Christ, New Testament,		
	WB_32	Jesus calming storm & healing		I(colour)			5		Religious, Biblical, Christ, New Testament,		
	WB_33	Christ teaching & healing		I(colour)			4		Religious, Biblical, Christ, New Testament,		
	WB_34	Flight to Egypt, massacre of the innocents, Jesus and the doctors		I(colour)			2		Religious, Biblical, Christ, New Testament,		
	WB_35	Nativity, shepherds, wise men		I(colour)			1		Religious, Biblical, Christ, New Testament,		
	WB_36	Faithful and Christian led in chains round Vanity Fair		I(colour)	[Theobald & Co.]	Pilgrim's Progress	10	12 slides, in/before 1889. Source: Lucerna	Religious, Narrative		
	WB_37	Walls of Jericho		I					Religious, Biblical, Old Testament,		
	WB_38	Vanity Fair		I(colour)	[Theobald & Co.]	Pilgrim's Progress	9	12 slides, in/before 1889. Source: Lucerna	Religious, Narrative		
	WB_39	Faithful cuts, and is cut, by his Relations		I(colour)	[Theobald & Co.]	Pilgrim's Progress	8	12 slides, in/before 1889. Source: Lucerna	Religious, Narrative		
	WB_40	Christian prays after defeat of Apollyon		I(colour)	[Theobald & Co.]	Pilgrim's Progress	7	12 slides, in/before 1889. Source: Lucerna	Religious, Narrative		
	WB_41	Christian ascends Hill Difficulty		I(colour)	[Theobald & Co.]	Pilgrim's Progress	6	12 slides, in/before 1889. Source: Lucerna	Religious, Narrative		
	WB_42	Christian receives the roll from the Shining Ones		I(colour)	[Theobald & Co.]	Pilgrim's Progress	5	12 slides, in/before 1889. Source: Lucerna	Religious, Narrative		
	WB_43	Christian's burden falls		I(colour)	[Theobald & Co.]	Pilgrim's Progress	4	12 slides, in/before 1889. Source: Lucerna	Religious, Narrative		
	WB_44	Slough of Despond		I(colour)	[Theobald & Co.]	Pilgrim's Progress	3	12 slides, in/before 1889. Source: Lucerna	Religious, Narrative		
	WB_45	Evangelist hands Christian a parchment		I(colour)	[Theobald & Co.]	Pilgrim's Progress	2	12 slides, in/before 1889. Source: Lucerna	Religious, Narrative		
	WB_46	Christian with his family		I(colour)	[Theobald & Co.]	Pilgrim's Progress	1	12 slides, in/before 1889. Source: Lucerna	Religious, Narrative		

Dutch Reformed Church Archive, University of Stellenbosch, South Africa: Lantern Slide Collection Database

From information gathered in June 2016, the 472 glass lantern slides in this collection have been catalogued. The following notes are intended as a guide to the catalogue, and should be used with the database and photographic files.

Sheet 1: Archive Order

Image: thumbnail images of each slide are included for reference. For full resolution versions, refer to picture files.

Current location: reference numbers refer to the locations of the slides at the time of cataloguing, for ease of identification. 602506, 608409 & 716401 refer to boxes with these numbers shown; Drawer 1 to Drawer 6 refer to the set of drawers numbered as such; WB refers to the wooden box, containing several larger as well as standard sized slides. Each slide is assigned a number within its container, in the order in which they were found. Were the slides to be reordered into sets/subjects, a new reference system would be recommended.

Title/Subject: where a title is given on the slide, this appears in inverted commas. Where no caption is shown, but the subject is deduced, text appears without inverted commas. Question marks within inverted commas denote illegible sections of text. Other question marks indicate doubt as to the suggested subject/title.

Artist: for illustrations, this indicates the name of the original artist on which the image is based, if known.

Photo/Illustration: P indicates a photograph, I an illustration. Where a slide is in **colour**, or in **negative**, this is indicated. Otherwise all slides are assumed to be positive and monochrome.

Manufacturer/Distributor: Where shown on the slide, the manufacturer or distributor (it is not always clear which name is shown) is indicated. Locations are added where known. Names in square brackets indicate that the information comes from a source external to the slide.

Series: indicates the set the slide came from, if known.

Series #: indicates the slide number within its set, if known. Other numbers are shown in the Other Info column.

Other Info: where source is attributed to Lucerna, this refers to the online resources of the Magic Lantern Society (http://www.slides.uni-trier.de/), which contains extensive catalogues of slide sets, accompanying readings, manufacturers etc. Also included here are likely dates, additional information on subjects (especially of portraits), additional remarks/letters/numbers shown on the slide, possible connections with other slides in the collection, and any other relevant notes.

Keywords: the following keywords have been attributed to slides. Many more could be added to aid in searching the collection**.** All terms in bold are included as keywords.

Africa: subject/content set in or otherwise distinctively African. Specific locations indicated in brackets.

America: subject/content set in or otherwise distinctively America (continent). Specific locations indicated in brackets.

Animals: animal subject or peripheral appearance, some specified also as **hunting.**

Biblical: Biblical theme, not specifically related to Old or New Testaments.

Boats

Buildings: all built structures, historical, current; **interior** views indicated.

Christ: illustrations with the subject matter of Jesus Christ.

Ethnography: images recording cultural and social activities and behaviours of groups of people, usually but not exclusively African.

Europe: subject/content set in or otherwise distinctively European. Specific locations indicated in brackets. Where an image is of a location in one of the British home nations (**England, Scotland, Wales**), this is indicated, if of national reference it will state **Britain**.

Figures: human figures, whether constituting the main subject or appearing peripherally. Where white figures are present in African settings, these are also designated **white**, otherwise figures in Africa presumed to be black. Figures in Europe/USA presumed to be white.

Holy Land: Israel/Palestine as geographic location.

Labour: activities of manual labour.

Landscape

Map

Memorial: monuments, memorial structures, statues, natural items acting as memorials (e.g. trees).

Mission

New/Old Testament: NT/OT specified where known. General **biblical** subjects designated as such.

Portrait: Photographic or illustrated portrait-style images.

Railways: subject of railways, including railway lines in landscape views.

Religious: any religious significance or subject matter, including buildings, illustrations, texts. Not exclusively Christian.

Text: exclusively textual slides, and slides where text appears within the image itself.

Sheet 2: Reordered

Several slides have been arranged in their original sets on a separate spreadsheet for ease of viewing.

Clare Brown, University of Glasgow, Scotland (c.brown.6@research.gla.ac.uk***).*** ***Research funded by the UK Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC).***

Livingstonia Lantern Slide Collection
Stone House Museum, Livingstonia, Malawi

Catalogue of Images

The images reproduced in this catalogue were taken by the author on a research visit to Livingstonia in July 2016. The trip was funded by the Scottish Graduate School for Arts and Humanities through their Student Development Fund. Thanks also go to Professor T. Jack Thompson for alerting me to the collection, and taking time to share advice; to Rev. Levi and Mrs Ruth Nyondo in Mzuzu, Malawi, for their invaluable support; to Moses Mlenga, Principal of Laws Campus, University of Livingstonia, and his family; and to the staff of the Stone House Museum. Information provided by the Magic Lantern Society through their extensive online resources have been invaluable in the identification of slides, manufacturers, and readings.

Livingstonia Lantern Slide Collection Catalogue

Compiled by Clare Brown

University of Glasgow, Scotland

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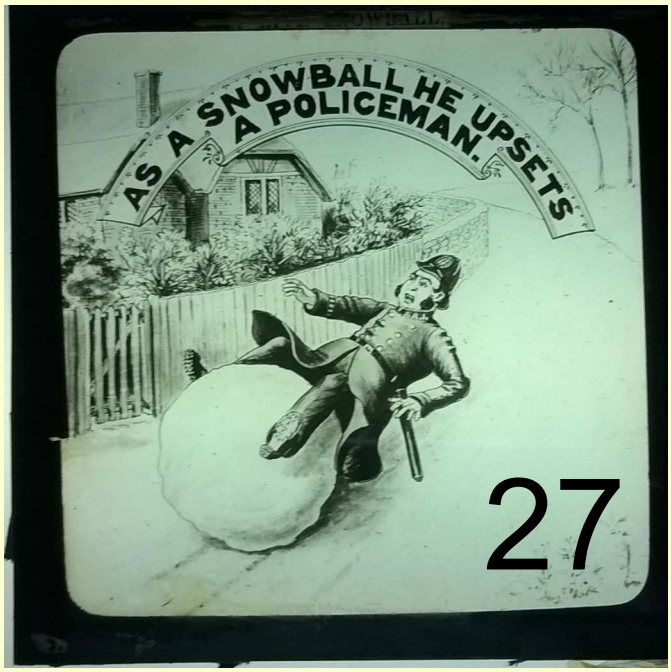
AS A SNOWBALL HE UPSETS A POLICEMAN.
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Introduction

The Stone House Museum in Livingstonia, Malawi, holds an impressive collection of glass lantern slides. The slides date from the end of the nineteenth- and beginning of the twentieth-centuries. They depict a range of subjects, many biblical, but also including landscapes, urban scenes, ships, and natural history. Few slides are of Africa - local images were more likely to be sent back to Britain, and can be found in collections such as that at the National Trust for Scotland's David Livingstone Centre in Blantyre, Scotland.

This project aims to make these Livingstonia slides accessible to a wider audience than previously possible. The town and its museum are located on a plateau high above Lake Malawi in the country's northern region. They can be reached only arduously on foot, or by 4x4 via the infamous Gorodi Road that switchbacks up the precipitous hillside. It is here, at the place previously known as Mumbwe, that in 1894, Scottish missionary Robert Laws and his party established the Livingstonia Mission. For those who have made it to the museum, and are reading this booklet in the historic surroundings of the Stone House, it is hoped that your appreciation of the collection is enhanced. For those unable to visit, it is intended to provide a glimpse into the visual world of the mission in its early years.

Livingstonia's slides are currently stored in the desk that once belonged to Robert Laws, which is open for visitors to the museum to view. As they were intended for projection, however, it is not easy to see the images clearly from the glass slides alone. I was fortunate to receive funding from the UK Arts and Humanities Research Council, through the Scottish Graduate School for Arts and Humanities, to conduct a research visit to Livingstonia in the summer of 2016 and, with the aid of a battery-powered light box, to photograph the collection. Sadly, the catalogue is incomplete, as an additional box of slides was locked in a display cabinet that could not be accessed during my visit. It is to be hoped that a future project may be able to add these images to the current catalogue, which as it stands number more than 450 slides.

The Protestant missionaries who came to Malawi from Scotland, and elsewhere in the UK, were part of a long tradition of Christians who, after the European Reformation in the sixteenth century, favoured words over pictures. The biblical Word of God in particular was (and is) at the forefront of evangelical worship and mission. Nevertheless, pictures never stopped playing a part in religious life and education, and many types and formats of images were exported to missions across Africa, and elsewhere, during and after the Victorian age.

The lantern projector, or 'magic lantern', is a particularly fascinating visual medium,

and was extremely popular with missionaries. The records of various missionary societies reveal that missionaries frequently requested projectors and slides, and expressions of thanks to supporters for gifting such items shows that their wants were often met. Barriers of language and culture were thought to be overcome by the use of pictures, especially when shown through the exciting technology of the magic lantern. Missionaries used these pictures - which by the late nineteenth-century were often photographs - in their educational work, and as a means of entertainment. You will see that some slide sets are intended for amusement, such as the illustrated series 'A Live Snowball' (pages 27-29), or the story of the napping man told with life models (page 29). Others are on what might be described as subjects of European secular educational, including astronomy (page 10) and natural history (e.g. pages 23-25, 58).

Originally, many of the slide sets would have been accompanied by readings explaining the topic, or by a poem, Bible reading, or song. These are no longer available, which makes understanding how images were used more of a challenge.

One the fascinating aspects of the magic lantern is its symbolic role in furthering the evangelical and colonial rhetoric of mission bringing 'light to the darkness' in Malawi, and elsewhere across Africa. For lantern slides to be visible, they must literally be surrounded by darkness, so that their light can be seen. In so doing the real place in which the display is held is effectively blotted out, and replaced by alternative realities - often, as you will see, European. Such impositions of images may be viewed in the context of parallel attempts to eclipse local languages and cultures in an effort at 'Europeanisation'. Now that independence from colonial rule is long established, and postcolonial (re)assertions of identity continue to challenge the legacy of imposed forms, it is still insightful to return to these images, and consider what they might tell us about the local history of Livingstonia, and also the wider regional history of colonised and missionised Africa. As Christians across Africa also increasingly seek to express their faith through visual imagery and art, it is also worth considering the biblical and religious slides in this collection (pages 33-43) as part of the theological heritage within which they now work.

It is a pleasure to be able to share this wonderful collection, and I hope this catalogue will prove both interesting and useful, whatever perspective you may approach it from.

Clare Brown

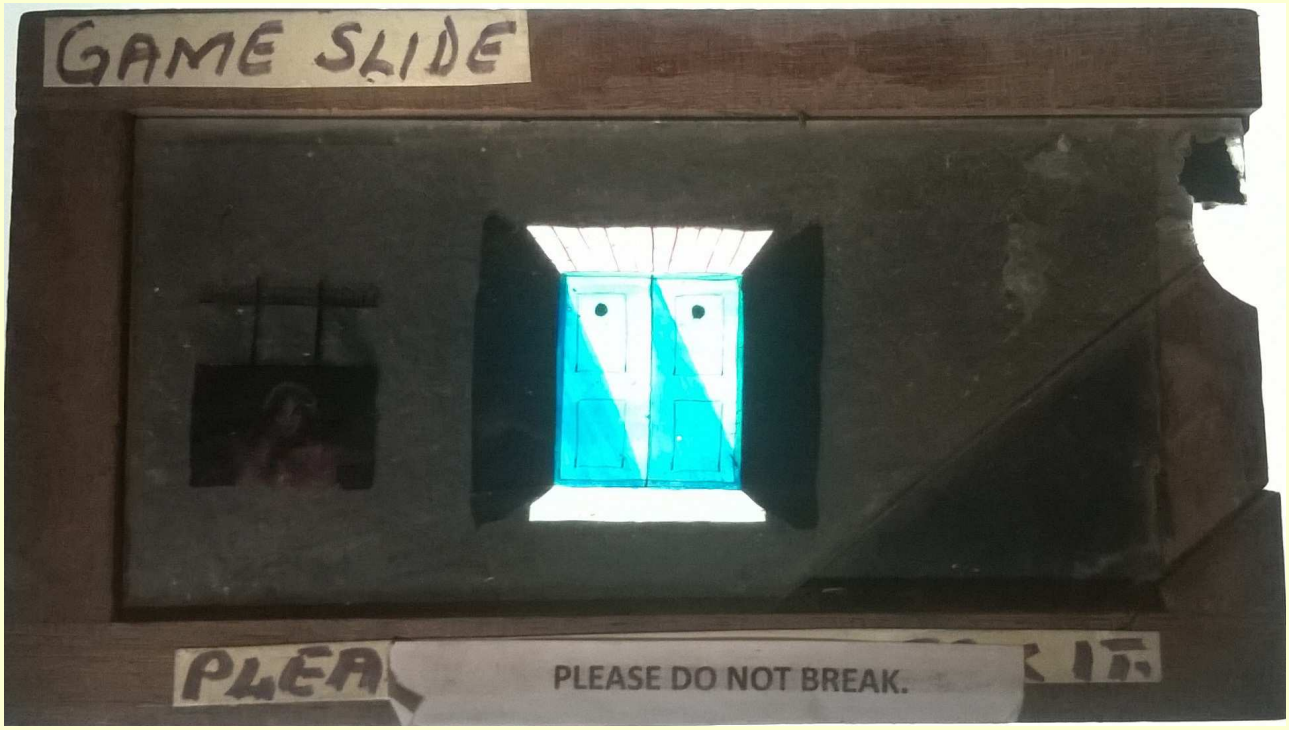
University of Glasgow
June 2017

Notes: some images may be racially offensive, for instance the series 'The Elephant's Revenge' on pages 25-26. These are recorded as they are, and their content is in no way endorsed by inclusion in this catalogue.

Where slide titles appear in inverted commas, this information is taken directly from the slide itself. Otherwise, titles have been found from other examples of the slide or set or, where neither of these is available, approximate titles have been applied by the compiler. Information gathered from secondary sources, on the content or origin of a slide, is indicated by references shown in the item description.

Reference numbers indicate the storage box and position in which each slide was found, and are primarily an aid to organisation of images and information for the compiler. The disorder of the slides as found in the summer of 2016 can be seen by the disparate locations of images from single sets, as indicated by these numbers. Reordering them correctly has been a challenge, and is a task by no means yet complete.

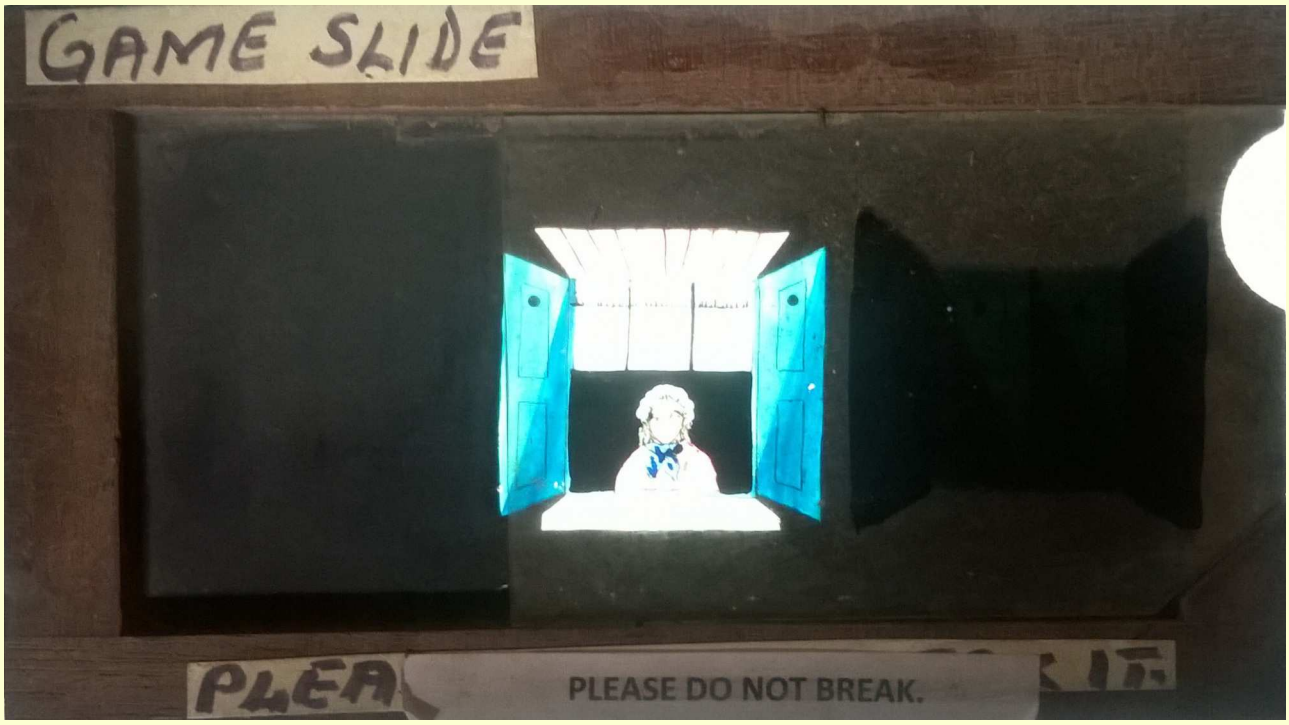
Amendments: this catalogue is provisional, compiled from information available on the slides themselves, and from secondary sources accessed in the UK. Many slides are unlabelled, and any additional information on subject matter or origin would be gratefully received. Please email c.brown.6@research.gla.ac.uk, or visit www.westerneyes.wixsite.com/missionimages and leave a comment.



Woman at the window

Hand-drawn and coloured slipping slide. Wooden casing.

LV_1



Comic slide

Colour illustration.

LV2_1

Comic slide.

Colour illustration.

LV2_2

Comic knife-thrower.

Colour illustration.

LV2_3

Comic dentist.

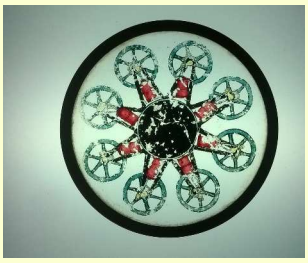
Colour illustration.

LV2_4

Comic squeeze-box.

Colour illustration.

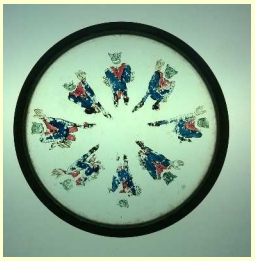
LV2_5



Comic mechanical.

Colour illustration.

LV2_6



Comic waving creature.

Colour illustration.

LV6_2

White silhouette figure.

Photograph.Wooden casing.

LV2_8

Parian Statue.

Photograph. Copied by permission of Messrs Minton from their Parian Statuary by Famous Artists. Wooden casing.

LV2_7

Cats in hats.

Photograph

LV5_52

Cats taking tea.

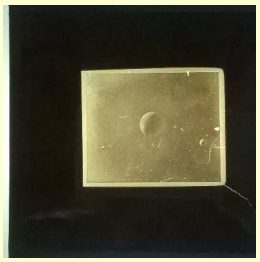
Photograph

LV8_33

Cat in bonnet and glasses.

Photograph

LV9_60



Solar system.

Illustration.

LV6_23

Phases of the moon.

Illustration.

LVNG_46

Lunar topography.

Illustration.

LVNG_71

Solar System: Sun, Mercury, Venus, Earth, Moon.

Colour illustration.

LV2_11

'Part of the Constellation Taurus'.

Photograph.

LV3_11

Jupiter and one of its moons.

Illustration

LV4_36

Ship. #3 Naval Architecture.
Colour illustration.
LV5_33

Sailing ship. #16.
Colour illustration.
LV5_24

Sailing ship. #12.
Colour illustration.
LV5_36

Sailing ship.

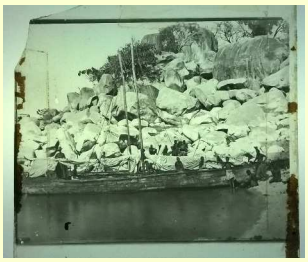
Photograph.

LV3_2

Sailing ship.

Photograph.

LV9_55



Boat at rocky shore. Africa?

Photograph.

LV6_40

Sailing Ship

Photograph

LV3_4

'Valkyrie'

Photograph

LV6_49

'P.S. Brodick Castle'.

Photograph. Paddle steamer built 1878 by H McIntyre and Co at Paisley, Scotland. Worked the Ardrossan-Brodick service 1878-86.

http://www.paddlesteamers.info/BrodickCastle.htm.

LV5_1

Boats at shore.

Photograph.

LV5_25

Ship.

Photograph

LV5_12

'The [?] Steamer'.

Photograph.

LV5_23

Sailing ship.

Photograph.

LV5_27

Ships.

Photograph.

LV5_34

Rowing boats.

Photograph.

LV5_60

Harbour, Chicago.

Photograph.

LV5_58

Sailing ship.

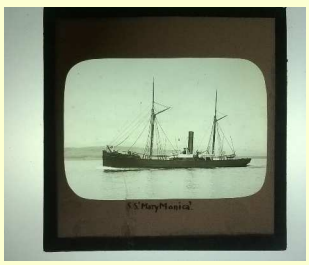
Photograph.

LV5_64

Ship launch.

Photograph.

LV5_61



'S.S. Mary Monica'

Photograph. Ship possibly dates from 1879-1897, built by Henry Murray of Glasgow, sank in 1917. www.wrecksite.eu/wreck.aspx?201533.

LV5_65

'William Galbraith' ship.

Photograph.

LV8_14

'Erin with Shamrock I and II in tow'.

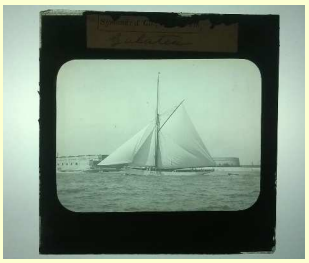
Photograph. Gardner & Co. Opticians, Glasgow.

LV8_37

Steam ship.

Photograph.

LV8_28



'Galatea'.

Photograph. Symonds & Co.

LVNG_58

Bithoor - View on the River Ganges (Nana Sahib's Home). India.

Photograph. York & Son, London.

LVNG_74

'Erin'.

Photograph.

LVNG_79

Sailing ship.

Photograph.

LV3_2

Sailing ship.

Photograph.

LV3_4

Lifeboat on stormy seas.

Illustration.

LV8_17

'The 'America' winning the cup at Cowes Aug 22 1851'.

Illustration.

LV8_31

Sailing ship.

Photograph.

LV3_6

Ships.

Photograph of a painting.

LV4_21

Britannia, Glasgow. Scotland.

Photograph.Rae, Glasgow.

LV4_30

Sailing ship.

Photograph.

LV4_37

Harbour landscape.

Photograph. Image faded.

LV4_2

Shipyard.

Photograph.

LV8_50

'Isle of Man - S.S. Monica's Isle'. #52 Manxland and its Beauties.

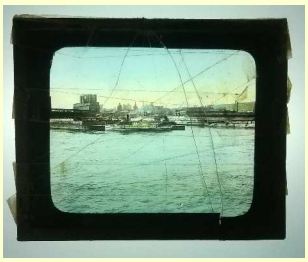
Photograph. Valentine & Sons, 57 Slides, in/before 1887. *Lucerna Magic Lantern Web Resource, www.slides.uni.trier.de/set/index.php?id=3000390. Accessed 5 June 2017.*

LV9_37

Boat.

Photograph. J.W.

LV6_51



Harbour with paddle steamer.

Colour photograph.

LV4_26

Women look out at stormy sea.

Illustration.

LV8_49

Ship & Beacon Fire.

Colour illustration.

LV4_10

Naval Battle

Colour illustration.

LV3_35

The Launch of the Lifeboat. #1 The Heroes of the Lifeboat.
Colour illustration. Theobald & Co., England. *Lucerna Magic Lantern Web Resource, www.slides.uni.trier.de/set/index.php?id=3005018. Accessed 23 May 2017.*
LV9_14

The Lifeboat amidst the Foaming Billows. A Ship in the distance. #2 The Heroes of the Lifeboat.
Colour illustration. Theobald & Co., England. *Lucerna Magic Lantern Web Resource, www.slides.uni.trier.de/set/index.php?id=3005018. Accessed 23 May 2017.*
LV9_17

The lifeboat overturned. #5 of *The Heroes of the Lifeboat.*
Colour illustration. Theobald & Co., England. *Lucerna Magic Lantern Web Resource, www.slides.uni.trier.de/set/index.php?id=3005018. Accessed 23 May 2017.*
LV4_19

A Ship on Fire! Lifeboat to the Rescue. #7 The Heroes of the Lifeboat.
Colour Illustration. Theobald & Co., England. *Lucerna Magic Lantern Web Resource, www.slides.uni.trier.de/set/index.php?id=3005018. Accessed 23 May 2017.*
LVNG_47

Lifeboat drawn by horses.
Photograph.
LV4_24

A Hero of the Lifeboat. #25 Heroes of the Goodwin Sands.
Illustration. Manufacturer unknown, but accompanied a reading by Thomas Stanley Treanor of the same title (London: Religious Tract Society, 1892). *Lucerna Magic Lantern Web Resource, www.slides.uni.trier.de/set/index.php?id=3004214. Accessed 5 June 2017.*
LVNG_59

Figures in rowing boat.

Illustration. Slide damaged.

LV9_31

Deer. Canada.

Colour photograph.

LV9_8

Bear. Canada.

Colour photograph.

LV9_9

Hunters. Canada.

Colour photograph.

LV4_11

Landscape. Canada.

Colour photograph.

LV4_15

Caribou. Canada.

Colour photograph.

LV4_25

Landscape. Canada.

Colour photograph.

LV8_29

Bear entering river. Canada.

Colour photograph.

LV9_7

Men in boat with antlers. Canada.

Colour photograph.

LV6_18

Landscape. Canada.

Colour photograph.

LV6_19

Gutting fish. Canada.

Colour photograph.

LV6_33

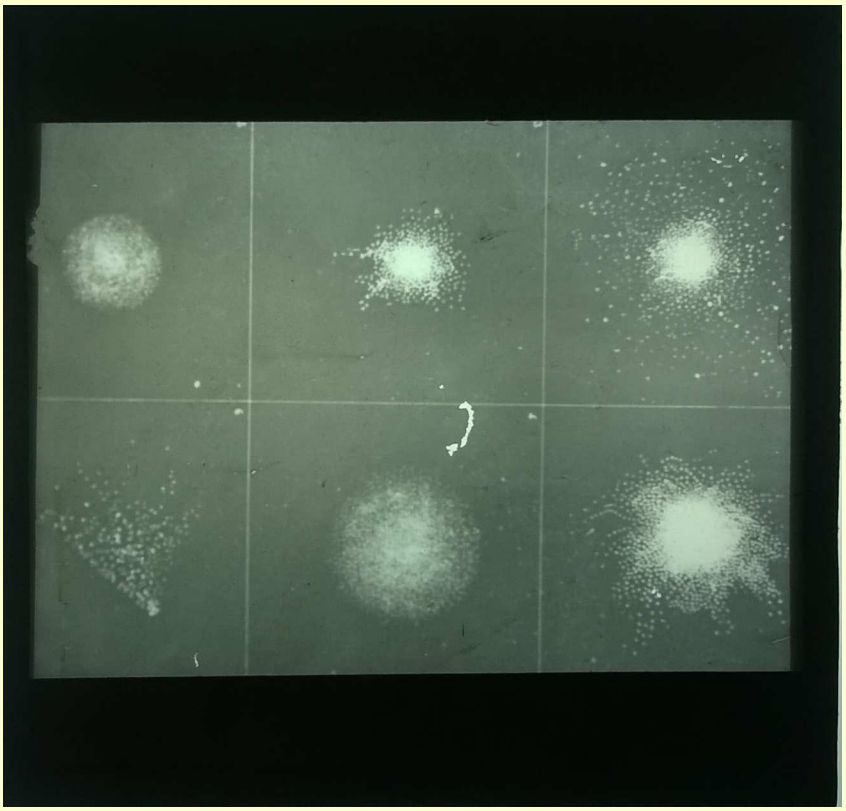
Waterfall. #20. Canada.

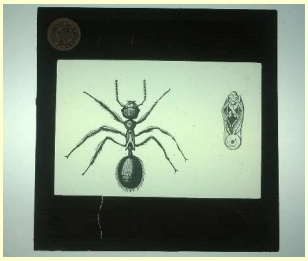
Colour photograph.

LVNG_65

Musical cats. Possibly from G.W. Wilson set 'Cats at Play'. Photograph.
LVNG_43

Galaxies.
Photograph.
LVNG_62





Ant. Ants and Their Ways

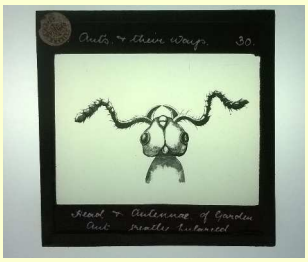
Illustration. J.Lizars Optician, Glasgow.

LV3_19

Flying ants. Ants and Their Ways.

Illustration. J.Lizars Optician, Glasgow.

LV4_12



'Head and antennae of garden ant, greatly enlarged' #30 Ants and Their Ways.

Illustration. J.Lizars Optician, Glasgow.

LV9_11

'Nests of Negro-Head and Green Ants' #13 Ants and Their Ways.

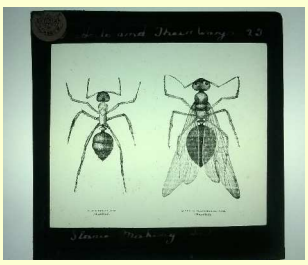
Illustration. J.Lizars Optician, Glasgow.

LV9_63

'At work in a cocoon chamber' #19 Ants and Their Ways

Illustration. J.Lizars Optician, Glasgow.

LV6_75



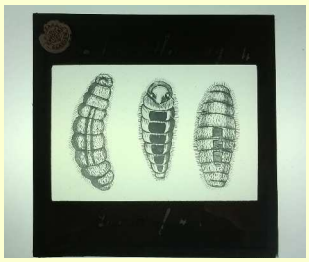
'Slave-making ants' #23 Ants and Their Ways.

Illustration. J.Lizars Optician, Glasgow.

LV5_13

Ants. Ants and Their Ways.
Illustration. J.Lizars Optician, Glasgow.
LV5_72

'Milking. Ant Cow'. #27 Ants and Their Ways.
Illustration. J.Lizars Optician, Glasgow.
LV8_4



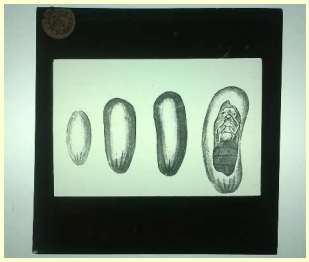
'Lava of Ant'. Ants and Their Ways.
Illustration. J.Lizars Optician, Glasgow.
LV8_20

Ants. Ants and Their Ways
Illustration. J.Lizars Optician, Glasgow.
LVNG_17

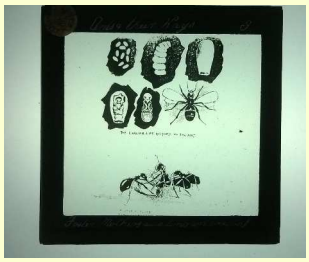
Ants on the riverbank. Ants and Their Ways.
Illustration. J.Lizars Optician, Glasgow.
LVNG_29

'**An Alarm'.** # 22 Ants and Their Ways
Illustration. J.Lizars Optician, Glasgow.
LV6_4

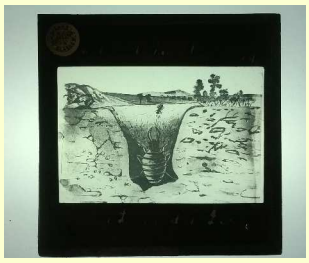
'Indian Ants' Nest' #14 Ants and Their Ways.
Illustration. J.Lizars Optician, Glasgow.
LV9_36



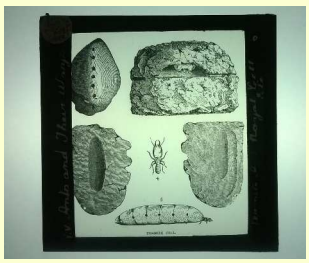
'Eggs of Ants' #2 Ants and Their Ways
Illustration. J.Lizars Optician, Glasgow.
LVNG_37



'Foster Mothers Awaiting an Arrival' #3 Ants and Their Ways.
Illustration. J.Lizars Optician, Glasgow.

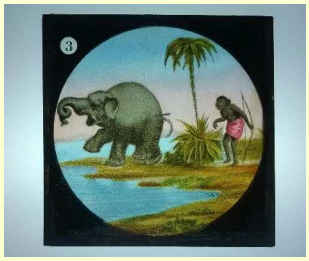


'Ant Lion and its Den' #29 Ants and Their Ways.
Illustration. J.Lizars Optician, Glasgow.
LVNG_68



'Termite Ant' #6 Ants and Their Ways.
Illustration. J.Lizars Optician, Glasgow.
LVNG_78

Ants. Ants and Their Ways
Illustration. J.Lizars Optician, Glasgow.
LV4_22



A sharp stinging sensation in his side #3 The Elephant's Revenge.
Colour illustration. [Theobald & Co., England, in/before 1894]
LV6_14

Having washed his victim, he is now hanging him up to dry #10 The Elephant's Revenge.
Colour illustration. [Theobald & Co., England, in/before 1894].
LV8_38

He makes his way to a delightful cactus bush #11 The Elephant's Revenge.
Colour illustration. [Theobald & Co., England, in/before 1894].
LV8_45

The elephant quickly trots away #12 The Elephant's Revenge.
Colour illustration.[Theobald & Co., England, in/before 1894].
LV4_18

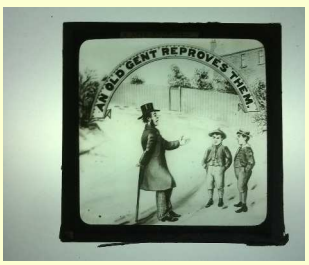
Squirting the water down his capacious throat #2 The Elephant's Revenge.
Colour illustration.
LV5_50

A crocodile appears #8 The Elephant's Revenge.
Colour illustration.
LV8_47

Having washed his victim, he is now hanging him up to dry #10 The Elephant's Revenge.
Colour illustration.
LV8_46

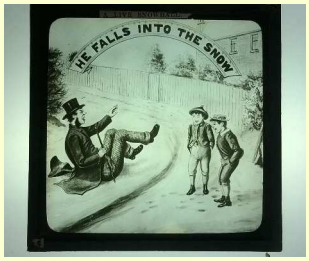
The elephant leaves him covered in prickles #12
The Elephant's Revenge.
Colour illustration.
LV8_48

'Tom & Jackie go Sliding' A Live Snowball
Illustration.
LV9_72



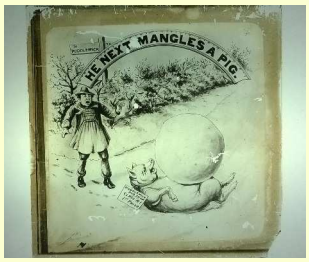
'An Old Gent Reproves Them' A Live Snowball.
Illustration.
LV8_26

'Leaning on His Stick He Slips on the Slide' A Live Snowball.
Illustration.
LV6_8

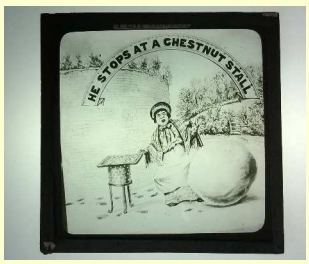


'He Falls into the Snow' A Live Snowball.
Illustration.
LV5_42

'As a Snowball he Upsets a Policeman' A Live Snowball.
Illustration.
LV6_15



'He Next Mangles a Pig' A Live Snowball.
Illustration.
LV5_19



'He Stops at a Chestnut Stall' A Live Snowball.
Illustration.
LV8_40

'The Heat of Stove Liberates a Foot' A Live Snowball.
Illustration.
LV6_68

'A Hand Next Appears' A Live Snowball.
Illustration.
LV5_15

'Assistance Arrives' A Live Snowball.

Illustration.

LV9_38

'And Arrives Home Safely but Sadly' A Live Snowball.

Illustration.

LV9_38

'I'll just sit here and have a read'

Photograph (life model).

LV3_17

'Soon Brown is in the Land of [Dreams]'

Photograph (life model).

LV8_27

'He is fairly caught napping this time"

Photograph (life model).

LV6_67

Not to be caught napping next time'

Photograph (life model).

LV8_19

'Waiting'.

Photograph (life model).

LV6_5

'Now or Never'.

Photograph (life model).

LV8_54

'Cleverly Done'.

Photograph (life model).

LVNG_9

'Tableaux'.

Photograph (life model).

LVNG_21

'The voice of angels'. #2 The Holy City.

Illustration. To accompany song by Fred E. Weatherly & Stephen Adams (London: Boosey & Co., 1892). *Lucerna Magic Lantern Web Resource, www.slides.uni.trier.de/set/index.php?id=3001201. Accessed 26 May 2017.*

LV9_42

'The Shadow of a Cross'. #3 The Holy City.

Illustration. To accompany song by Fred E. Weatherly & Stephen Adams (London: Boosey & Co., 1892). *Lucerna Magic Lantern Web Resource, www.slides.uni.trier.de/set/index.php?id=3001201. Accessed 26 May 2017.*

LV9_73

'The New Jerusalem'. #4 The Holy City.
Illustration. To accompany song by Fred E. Weatherly & Stephen Adams (London: Boosey & Co., 1892). *Lucerna Magic Lantern Web Resource, www.slides.uni.trier.de/set/index.php?id=3001201. Accessed 26 May 2017.*
LV9_53

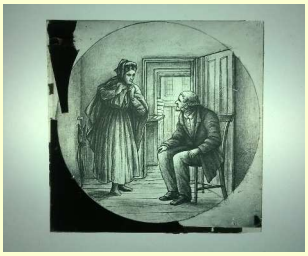
Tony's Crossing. Alone in London.
Illustration.
LVNG_49

Tony taken to hospital by Mr Ross. #8 Alone in London.
Illustration.
LV9_70

Old Oliver with Dolly and Tony. #10 Alone in London.
Illustration.
LVNG_69

Old Oliver and Tony Arrive at Susan's House. #12 Alone in London.
Illustration
LV3_30

Sick Dolly? Alone in London?.
Illustration.
LV5_53



Woman and Man. Alone in London?.

Illustration.

LVNG_70

Raft. #1.

Colour illustration.

LV9_35

Boy on Donkey. #2.

Colour illustration.

LV8_43

Boy and Bird. #11.

Colour illustration.

LV6_1

Hunting?

Colour illustration. Image damaged.

LV9_16

Boys with Scorpion.

Colour illustration.

LV9_50

Indigenous Hunters, North America.

Colour illustration.

LV9_20

Polar Explorers.

Colour illustration.

LV9_10

An Arab Encampment. #1 Bible Manners & Customs.

Colour illustration. York & Son, London, in/before 1888. Lucerna Magic Lantern Web Resource, www.slides.uni.trier.de/set/index-slide.php?id=3004504. Accessed 6 October 2016.

LV9_29

Handing Water to Travellers. #4 Bible Manners & Customs.

Colour illustration. York & Son, London, in/before 1888. Lucerna Magic Lantern Web Resource, www.slides.uni.trier.de/set/index-slide.php?id=3004504. Accessed 6 October 2016.

LVNG_7

Threshing. #8 Bible Manners & Customs.

Colour illustration. York & Son, London, in/before 1888. Lucerna Magic Lantern Web Resource, www.slides.uni.trier.de/set/index-slide.php?id=3004504. Accessed 6 October 2016.

LV8_44

Wine Press. #9 Bible Manners & Customs.

Colour illustration. York & Son, London, in/before 1888. Lucerna Magic Lantern Web Resource, www.slides.uni.trier.de/set/index-slide.php?id=3004504. Accessed 6 October 2016.

LV9_68

Washing the Hands. #14 Bible Manners & Customs.

Colour illustration. York & Son, London, in/before 1888. Lucerna Magic Lantern Web Resource, www.slides.uni.trier.de/set/index-slide.php?id=3004504. Accessed 6 October 2016.
LV5_4

'Plan of a Syrian House'. #11 Bible Manners & Customs.

Illustration. York & Son, London, in/before 1888. Lucerna Magic Lantern Web Resource, www.slides.uni.trier.de/set/index-slide.php?id=3004504. Accessed 6 October 2016.
LV9_69

Sitting at Meat. #15 Bible Manners & Customs.

Colour illustration. York & Son, London, in/before 1888. Lucerna Magic Lantern Web Resource, www.slides.uni.trier.de/set/index-slide.php?id=3004504. Accessed 6 October 2016.
LVNG_40

Books and Scrolls. #25 Bible Manners & Customs.

Colour illustration. York & Son, London, in/before 1888. Lucerna Magic Lantern Web Resource, www.slides.uni.trier.de/set/index-slide.php?id=3004504. Accessed 6 October 2016.
LV9_27

Tombs. #26 Bible Manners & Customs.

Colour illustration. York & Son, London, in/before 1888. Lucerna Magic Lantern Web Resource, www.slides.uni.trier.de/set/index-slide.php?id=3004504. Accessed 6 October 2016.
LV9_45

Musical instruments. #17 Bible Manners & Customs.

Colour illustration. York & Son, London, in/before 1888. Lucerna Magic Lantern Web Resource, www.slides.uni.trier.de/set/index-slide.php?id=3004504. Accessed 6 October 2016.
LV9_46

David with the head of Goliath. Doré Bible.
Colour illustration. After Gustave Doré (1832-1883).
LV9_12

Building the Ark. Doré Bible.
Colour illustration. After Gustave Doré (1832-1883), copied by permission of Cassell & Co.
LVNG_1

Christ Feeding the Multitude. Doré Bible.
Colour illustration. After Gustave Doré (1832-1883), copied by permission of Cassell & Co.
LVNG_64

Christian's Burden Falls. Pilgrim's Progress.
Colour illustration.
LVNG_60

Christian in Slough of Despond. #3 Pilgrim's Progress.
Colour illustration.
LV9_75

Christian Ascends Hill Difficulty. Pilgrim's Progress.
Colour illustration.
LV5_43

Vanity Fair. Pilgrim's Progress.
Colour illustration.
LV5_51

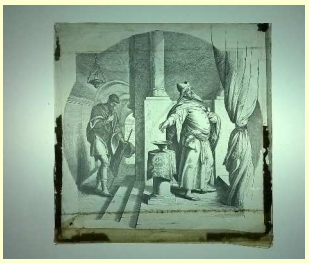
The Shining Ones Give Christian a Scroll. Pilgrim's Progress.
Colour illustration.
LVNG_28

Figures. #8. Pilgrim's Progress?
Colour illustration.
LV3_22

Christ bound, with crown of thorns.

Illustration.

LV9_3



Parable of the Pharisee and the Publican.

Illustration, after Julius Schnorr von Carolsfeld (1794 -1872).

LV9_4

Gospel scene. Healing of blind man, Mark 7?

Illustration. By special permission of Messrs Blackie & Son - TTW.

LV5_11

Baptism of Christ. #14.

Illustration.

LV9_15

Transfiguration.

Illustration, after Raphael (1516-20).

LV9_18.

Last Supper.

Illustration.

LV9_21

Christ blesses the children. [Image damaged].

Colour illustration.

LV9_24

Nativity, with angel.

Illustration.

LV9_26

Jesus calls Levi.

Colour illustration.

LV9_32

Christ Condemned. The Life of Our Lord.

Illustration.

LV9_33

'Peter went out and wept bitterly'.

Illustration. Newton & Co., London, copied by permission of Messrs H. Graves

LV9_34

Christ with Disciples at Gethsemane.

Illustration.

LV9_39

'Ascension, the Jewish State Destroyed'.

Illustration.

LV9_44

Old Testament scene. #3

Colour illustration.

LV9_47

'Nailed to the Cross'.

Illustration, after Gustave Doré. Newton & Co., London, by permission of Cassell & Co.

LV9_47

Peter's Denial.

Illustration.

LV9_62

Doubting Thomas.

Illustration.

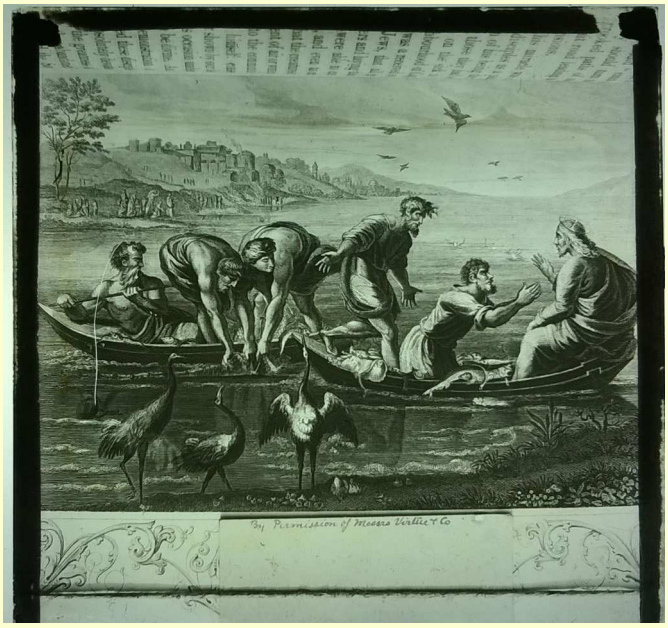
LV9_67

Jesus and his disciples.

Illustration.

LV6_7

Massacre of the Innocents.
Illustration, after after Léon Cogniet (1794-1880).
LVNG_19



Miraculous catch of fish. Luke 5:8.
Illustration. By permission of Messrs Voitice & Co. Reproduced from a book.
LV8_23

'Brought before the people'.
Illustration. Newton & Co., London. Copied by permission of Cassell & Co.
LV8_32

The holy family.

Illustration.

LV5_7

Old Testament scene. Possibly Nebuchadnezzar or Jonah?

Illustration.

LV5_10

Joseph sold to the Midianites. #4. Genesis 37:28.

Colour illustration.

LV9_6

Jacob and Benjamin. #7. Genesis 42:38.

Colour illustration.

LV9_61

Jacob's sons take grain back from Egypt. #8. Genesis 42:25-26.

Colour illustration.

LV6_76

Joseph's brothers in Egypt. #9.

Colour illustration.

LV9_57

Cup is found in Benjamin's sack. #10. Genesis 44:12.

Colour illustration.

LV5_20

New Testament scene. #2. Possibly young John the Baptist?

Colour illustration.

LVNG_10

Christ carrying the cross.

Illustration.

LVNG_72

Christ carried to the tomb.

Illustration.

LV8_16

Risen Christ with Mary Magdalene. #30 The Life of Our Lord.

Illustration.

LVNG_80

Belshazzar's Feast. Daniel 5:5.

Colour illustration, after John Martin (1789-1854). Wooden casing. Belshazzar's Feast was originally painted in 1820, and was widely reproduced, including in Martin's 'Illustrations of the Bible' 1832-1835.

LV2_10

Christ carried to the tomb. Stations of the Cross.
Illustration. Text blanked out.
LV8_2

Jesus takes the cross. Stations of the Cross.
Illustration. Text blanked out.
LV3_21

Jesus meets the women of Jerusalem. Stations of the Cross.
Illustration. Text blanked out.
LVNG_83

Jesus meets his mother Mary. Stations of the Cross.
Illustration. Text blanked out.
LVNG_87

Jesus falls. Stations of the Cross.
Illustration. Text blanked out.
LV5_54

Veronica wipes the face of Jesus. Stations of the Cross.
Illustration. Text blanked out.
LV9_43

Crucifixion. #34.

Illustration.

LV3_26

John the Baptist Preaching.

Illustration.

LV4_1

Jesus washes the disciples' feet.

Illustration. After Julius Schnorr von Carolsfeld (1794-1872). By special permission Messrs Blackie & Son.

LV4_5

Flagellation of Christ.

Illustration. Newton & Co., London. Copied by permission of Messrs Cassell & Co. Probably from Cassells' Illustrated Family Bible, 1859-63 (Caption faded).

LV4_34

Biblical scene.

Illustration.

LV8_39

Gideon and the Middionites. Judges 7:17-21.

Colour illustration.

LV9_2

"Ndi Njani'.

Handwritten text. Text is written over negative group portrait; one of Nguni languages (Xhosa, N. Ndebele, Zulu).

LVNG_61

'S.S.'Domira".

Photograph.SS Domira was a steel screw steamer built by Murray Bros., Dumbarton, Scotland in 1887 for the African Lakes Corporation. Shipped out in pieces, the 80ft boat was reassembled in situ at Lake Nyasa/Malawi for the transport of people up and down the lake.

http://www.clydeships.co.uk, accessed 15 May 17.

LV8_1

White man outside a house. Africa?.

Photograph.

LVNG_51

Men outside thatched building. Africa?

Photograph.

LV8_51

Figures by (lake?) shore. Africa?.

Photograph.

LV3_32

Running children.

Photograph.

LV3_29

Man riding camel.

Photograph.

LVNG_56

Banana plants.

Photograph.

LV6_63

'Top of Ben Nevis'. Scotland.

Photograph. G.W.Wilson, Glasgow.

LV5_69

'Lochs at Fort Augustus'. Scotland.

Photograph.

LV3_14

Cathedral at St. Andrews. Scotland.

Colour illustration.

LV3_36

Blackfriars, St. Andrews. Scotland.

Colour illustration.

LV6_16

Rock and spindle, St Andrews. Scotland.

Colour illustration.

LV8_24

The Scott Monument, Edinburgh. Scotland.

Photograph.

LV9_1

'Abbotsford. Clapperton Selkirk Photo'. #5. Scotland.
Photograph.
LV9_41

'Philiphaugh, Selkirk'. Scotland.
Photograph.
LVNG_11

'Arran natives'. #1. Scotland.
Photograph.
LV9_66

'Arran Natives'. Scotland.
Photograph.
LV6_38

'Pass of Killiecrankie'. Scotland
Photograph
G.W. Wilson/Gardner & Co. Opticians, Glasgow
LV6_60

'The Holy Loch. Firth of Clyde'. Also captioned
'Lazzaretto Point, Holy Loch'. Scotland.
Photograph.G.W. Wilson, Glasgow..
LV6_65

'A Shetland Knitter'. #9 'Instantaneous studies: character studies and types'.
Photograph. G.W. Wilson, Glasgow.
LVNG_48

'Sir Halford Scott Tomb, Dryburgh Abbey'. Scotland.
Photograph. Image faded.
LVNG_42

Figures by fence with trees.
Colour photograph.
LV8_52

Wide avenue. Germany.
Photograph.
LV6_69

'Alpini & waggons going through a pass'. #41.
Europe.
Illustration.J. Lizars Opticians, Glasgow. Copyright, Italian State Railway.
LV9_51

Socrates?
Illustration.
LVNG_50

'Oie Norandsdal'. Norway.

Photograph.

LV6_52

'Romsdal'. Norway.

Photograph.

LV6_55

'Hellesylt Waterfall Sunelvsfjord'. Norway.

Photograph.

LV6_62

'Odde. Sor Fjord'. Norway.

Photograph.

LV5_6

'View up Gierangerfjord'. Norway.

Photograph.

LV5_26

'Molde Church - Altar Piece'. Norway.

Photograph.

LV5_30

'Merok'. Norway.
Photograph.
LV5_40

'Bergen'. Norway.
Photograph.
LV5_63

'Viking's Boat - Christiania Museum'. Norway.
Photograph.
LV5_67

'Hellesylt. Sunelsfjord'. Norway.
Photograph.
LVNG_13

'Fjord at Odde'. Norway.
Photograph. Gardner & Co. Opticians, Glasgow.
LVNG_26

'Peasants' Houses'. [Possibly slide 31 of Rambles in Norway, Valentine & Sons in/before 1887]
Photograph. Gardner & Co. Opticians, Glasgow.
Lucerna Magic Lantern Web Resource, www.slides.uni.trier.de/set/index-slide.php?id=3000403. Accessed 29 May 2017.
LVNG_31

'Molde from Varden'. Norway.
Photograph.
LVNG_76

'Trondhjem Cathedral'. Norway.
Photograph.
LVNG_75

'Trondhjem Cathedral. Int[erior].' Norway.
Photograph.
LVNG_77

'Vass Railway'. Norway.
Photograph.
LVNG_82

'Trold Fjord. Raftsund. Lofoten'. Norway.
Photograph.
LVNG_85

'Aandalnaes, for Romsdal'. Norway.
Photograph.
LVNG_86

'Stolkyarre. Kjondalsfos. SandrenVand - Hilsdal'.

Photograph.

LV3_10

'Torghatten Island. View Seaward from entrance of tunnel'. Norway.

Photograph.

LV6_59

'Slettefossen in Romsdal'. Norway.

Photograph.

LV8_53

'Digermulen. Raftsund. Lofoten.' Norway.

Photograph.

LV3_31

'Torghatten Tunnel'. Norway.

Photograph.

LV3_24

'Trondhjem'. Norway.

Photograph.

LV6_22

'Fig 23. Syssendal'. Norway.

Illustration.

LVNG_23

'Sagne Fjord' map. Norway.

Illustration.

LV5_2

'Woman in street. Bergen'. Norway.

Photograph. Gardner & Co. Opticians, Glasgow.

LV9_40

Landscape with river.

Photograph.

LV3_9

Harbour landscape.

Photograph.

LV4_38

Three ships with mountains behind.

Photograph.

LVNG_20

Grand Canyon. #38 Wonders of the World.
Photograph. J. Lizars Opciticans, Glasgow.
LV3_13

Coral Reef. #41 Wonders of the World.
Photograph. J. Lizars Opticians, Glasgow.
LV3_16

Ancient Greek Quarry, Sicily. #14 Wonders of the World.
Photograph. J.Lizars Opticians, Glasgow.
LVNG_6

Great Wall of China. #22 Wonders of the World.
Illustration. J. Lizars Opticians, Glasgow.
LVNG_5

Coastline and sea stacks. #42 Wonders of the World.
England?
Photograph. J. Lizars Opticians, Glasgow.
LV5_68

Cape Town/Table Mountain. #31 Wonders of the World.
South Africa.
Photograph. J. Lizars Opticians, Glasgow.
LV5_46

Rock of Gibraltar. #9 Wonders of the World.
Photograph. J. Lizars Opticians, Glasgow.
LV5_41

Building. #20 Wonders of the World.
Photograph. J. Lizars Opticians, Glasgow.
LV5_31

Furnicular railway. #13 Wonders of the World.
Photograph. J. Lizars Opticians, Glasgow.
LV6_64

Mountain. #44 Wonders of the World.
Photograph. J. Lizars Opticians, Glasgow.
LV6_27

Camels. #16 Wonders of the World.
Photograph. J. Lizars Opticians, Glasgow.
LV3_12

'Steam hammer with wrought iron framing'. #58 Wonders of the World.
Photograph. J. Lizars Opticians, Glasgow.
LVNG_30

Large iceberg. [#12 Fifty wonders in] nature and art. In/after 1893.
Colour photograph. J. Valentine & Sons, Dundee.
Lucerna Magic Lantern Web Resource, www.slides.uni.trier.de/set/index-slide.php?id=3004099. Accessed 29 May 2017.
LVNG_54

'The White Terrace, New Zealand'. [#18 Fifty wonders in] nature and art. In/after 1893.
Colour photograph. J. Valentine & Sons, Dundee.
Lucerna Magic Lantern Web Resource, www.slides.uni.trier.de/set/index-slide.php?id=3004099. Accessed 29 May 2017.
LV6_45

Wasps. #5.

Illustration.J. Lizars Optician, Glasgow.

LV8_9

'Golden Crested Wren'. #7.

Illustration.J. Lizars Opticians, Glasgow.

LVNG_84

'Rook'. #13.

Illustration.J. Lizars Opticians, Glasgow.

LV6_30

'Gannet'. #14.

Illustration.J. Lizars Opticians, Glasgow.

LV4_27

'Eagle'. #15.

Illustration.J. Lizars Opticians, Glasgow.

LV6_46

'Field Mouse'. #17.

Illustration.J. Lizars Opticians, Glasgow.

LV6_31

'Fox'. #18.

Illustration.J. Lizars Opticians, Glasgow.

LV6_54

Lima, Public Gardens. #56 A Trip Round South America. Peru.

Photograph. York & Son (Manufacturer), Gardner & Co. Opticians, Glasgow (Distributor).

LVNG_25

Buenos Aires Public Square. #18 A Trip Round South America. Argentina.

Photograph. York & Son (Manufacturer), Gardner & Co. Opticians, Glasgow (Distributor).

LV6_58

Park landscape. #29 Chicago City. USA.

Photograph.

LV5_28

Boating lake. #22 Chicago City. USA.

Photograph.

LV5_49

Statue. #23 Chicago City. USA.

Photograph.

LVNG_73

Train.

Colour photograph.

LV4_8

'In the Market, Dinan'. France.

Photograph. Wooden casing.

LV2_9

'The Port. Dinan'. France.

Photograph.

LV5_38

'In the Market. Dinan'. France.

Photograph.

LV6_35

'Mont St Michael'. France.

Photograph.

LV6_74

'On the Stairway. Mont St Michael'. France.

Photograph.

LVNG_15

'Windmills at Zaandam'.

#28 Cities and Canals of Holland.
Photograph. Gardner & Co.
Opticians, Glasgow.
LV8_21

Windmill and figures.

#22 Picturesque Holland.
Photograph. Gardner & Co.
Opticians, Glasgow.
LV4_29

'Gateway. Hotel Beaumanoir'. France?

Photograph.

LV9_56

Harbour town.

Photograph.

LV4_31

Urban street.

Photograph.

LV4_32

Street scene with tower.

Photograph.

LV4_13

Cobbled street.

Photograph.

LV4_16

Urban street.

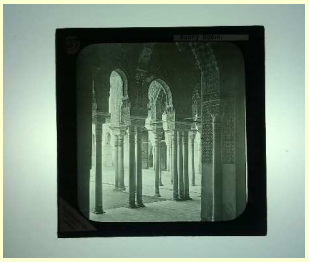
Photograph.

LV4_13

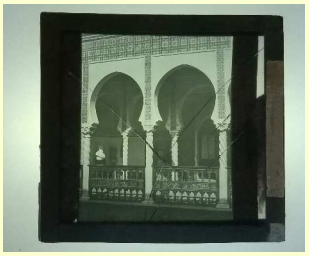
Seville. Gardens of Alcazar. #21 Sunny Spain.
Photograph. Gardner & Co. Opticians, Glasgow. [Set first manufactured by Wrench and Son, London, 1894].*Lucerna Magic Lantern Web Resource, www.slides.uni.trier.de/set/index-slide.php?id=3000364. Accessed 30 May 2017.*
LV5_21

Bull Ring at Malaga. #29 Sunny Spain.
Photograph. Gardner & Co. Opticians, Glasgow. [Set first manufactured by Wrench and Son, London, 1894]. *Lucerna Magic Lantern Web Resource, www.slides.uni.trier.de/set/index-slide.php?id=3000364. Accessed 30 May 2017.*
LV6_25

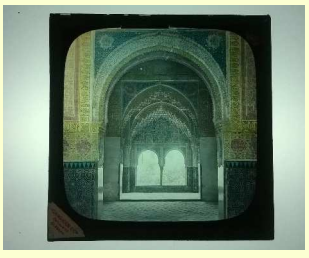
Old Toll Gate in Gypsy Quarter, Granada. #32 Sunny Spain.
Photograph. Gardner & Co. Optician, Glasgow. [Set first manufactured by Wrench and Son, London, 1894]. *Lucerna Magic Lantern Web Resource, www.slides.uni.trier.de/set/index-slide.php?id=3000364. Accessed 30 May 2017.*
LV3_27



Alhambra, view from the Hall of Justice. #37 Sunny Spain.
Photograph.Gardner & Co. Opticians, Glasgow. [Set first manufactured by Wrench and Son, London, 1894].*Lucerna Magic Lantern Web Resource, www.slides.uni.trier.de/set/index-slide.php?id=3000364. Accessed 30 May 2017.*
LV6_73



Decorative arches. Alhambra, Spain?
Photograph.
LV6_39



Decorative arches. Alhambra, Spain?
Colour photograph.Gardner & Co.Opticians, Glasgow.
LV4_33

Venetian Canal. Italy.

Photograph.

LV6_50

Venice. Italy.

Colour illustration.

LVNG_44

Cemetery. #6.

Photograph.

LV4_4

Cattle pens.

Photograph.

LV3_25

Cattle market.

Photograph.

LVNG_52

Church Building.

Photograph

LV3_18

Urban Scene.

Photograph.

LV3_8

'Chicago City'.

Photograph.

LV3_1

Buildings & cobbled streets.

Photograph.

LV3_3

Street with tram.

Photograph.

LV6_32

Women in street.

Photograph.

LVNG_63

Street scene.

Photograph. Image out of focus.

LVNG_66

Ships, Calcutta. India.

Photograph.

LVNG_45

'Sheep Market'.

Photograph.

LVNG_41

Harbour.

Photograph.

LV3_23

River landscape.

Photograph.

LVNG_53

Shop front.

Photograph.

LVNG_57

Rural snow scene.

Photograph.

LV3_5

Boys playing in snow.

Photograph.

LVNG_39

Boy with snowball.

Photograph.

LVNG_24

Snowman.

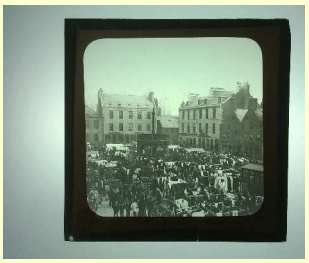
Photograph.

LVNG_4

Winter trees.

Photograph.

LV6_43



'Market Place, Aberdeen.' Scotland.

Photograph. Gardner & Co. Opticians, Glasgow.

LVNG_35

'Lizzie? and Inn.'

Photograph.

LVNG_36

Landscape with bridge. #8.

Colour illustration.

LV9_71

Steam machinery. #6.

Colour illustration.

LV9_19

Woodmen. #3.
Colour illustration.
LV

Indigenous people, North America. #7.
Colour illustration.
LV5_18

Herding sheep. #10.
Colour illustration.
LVNG_32

Landscape. #13.
Colour illustration.
LV5_56

Battle scene. #16.
Colour illustration. Slide defaced.
LVNG_34

Country house. #17.
Colour illustration.
LV8_6

Hunting kangaroos. #23.

Colour illustration.

LV5_14

Log boat. #1

Colour illustration. Slide damaged.

LV5_66

House on hill with figures.

Photograph.

LVNG_12

Vaulted dining room.

Photograph.

LVNG_8

Waterfall.

Photograph. Poor quality image.

LVNG_3

Buckingham Palace, London. England.

Photograph.

LV8_42

Street scene, London? England.

Photograph.

LV5_16

Cathedral, London? England.

Photograph.

LV5_48

Albert Memorial, Kensington Gardens, London.

England.

Photograph. Memorial designed by architect Sir Gilbert Scott.

LVNG_33

The Continents: Europe. London, England.

Photograph. Part of Albert Memorial, Kensington Gardens, completed 1876. Statue designed by Patrick McDowel (1799-1870).

LVNG_22

The Continents: Asia. London, England.

Photograph. Part of Albert Memorial, Kensington Gardens, completed 1876. . Statue designed by John Henry Foley (1818-1874).

LV6_32

Grand building with fountain. London? England.

Photograph.

LV9_22

Woman with bottles.

Photograph.

LV8_34

Large (civic?) building.

Photograph.

LV8_30

Large building.

Photograph.

LV8_25

Man walking down street.

Photograph.

LV8_18

Men outside thatched building.

Photograph.

LV8_51

Fabric shop.

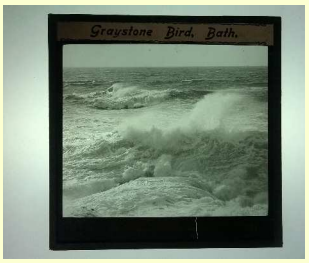
Photograph.

LV8_13

'Graystone Bird, Bath'. England.

Photograph.

LV8_12



'Graystone Bird, Bath'. England.

Photograph.

LV5_37

Decorative pitcher.

Photograph.

LV8_11

'Rev H.W. Pullar'.

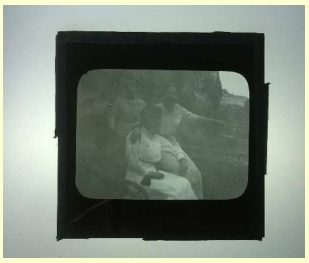
Photograph. Listed as United Free Church of Scotland missionary to China in 1904 'Directory of Protestant Missionaries in China, Japan and Corea' (Hong Kong Daily Press Office).

LV8_10

Machinery. #59.

Photograph. J. Lizars Optician, Glasgow.

LV8_7



Three women.

Photograph. Poor quality image.

LVNG_27

Woman at organ. #3 The Lost Child.

Photograph.

LV8_5

Woman in prayer at organ. #4 The Lost Child.

Photograph.

LV6_53

'Jap Band'.

Photograph.

LV5_71

Harbour.

Photograph. Gardner & Co. Opticians, Glasgow.

LV5_70

Landscape with boats.

Photograph.

LV8_3

Harbour and barrels.

Photograph.

LV5_62

Snake charming & dancing. Asia.

Colour illustration.

LVNG_38

Crowd with donkeys.

Photograph.

LV5_59

'View from Richmond Hill'. #2.

England.

Photograph.

LV5_57

Mine interior.

Photograph.

LVNG_18

Wide avenue with carriage.

Photograph.

LV5_55

Urban street.

Photograph.

LVNG_16

Church building with women and children.

Photograph.

LV5_47

Sinking steamers.

Photograph.

LV5_45

Landscape across water.

Photograph.

LV5_44

Harbour landscape.

Photograph.

LV5_39

Figures in landscape.

Photograph.

LV5_29

'Typical Chinese Scene'.

Photograph.

LV5_32

'Chinese house and evangelists'.

Photograph.

LV9_59

Urban street scene.

Photograph.

LV4_13

Ruined castle tower.

Photograph.

LVNG_2

Stone house with man and woman.

Photograph. Poor quality image.

LV5_17

Exhibition ground?

Photograph.

LV5_22

Desert dwelling.

Photograph.

LV4_28

Travellers.

Colour illustration. J. Lizars Opticians, Glasgow.

LV9_74

'Poor dog Tray'. #3a.

Colour photograph.

LV5_9

Man in graveyard.

Colour photograph.

LV5_8

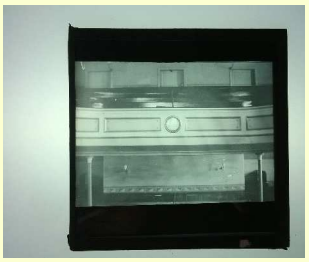
'Gave you a big scare...'. #6.

Colour illustration. Possibly from 'Scraps' US satirical magazine 1828-1849, by David Claypoole Johnston

Man and urban terrace.

Photograph.

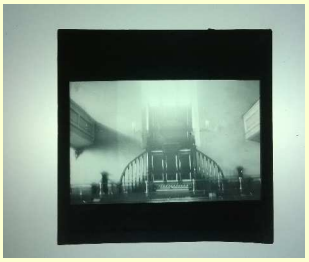
LV5_3



Church interior: gallery.

Photograph.

LVNG_14



Church interior: pulpit.

Photograph. Poor quality image.

Street and figures. Middle East/North Africa?

Photograph.

LV6_71

Large building.

Photograph.

LV6_66

Newspaper seller. Britain.

Colour pohotograph.

LV9_48

Girl on a stool.

Photograph.

LV6_9

Landscape.

Photograph. Image faded.

LV4_35

Figures amongst ruins.

Photograph.

LV6_57

Coastal landscape, Naples?

Photograph. Prescott & Co. Opticians, Glasgow.

LV8_8

Train.

Colour photograph.

LV4_39

Urban buildings.

Photograph.

LV6_47

Railway line and signal.

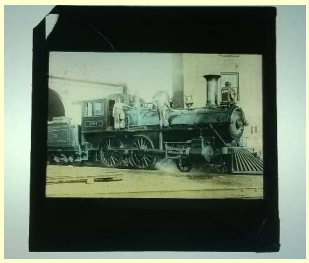
Photograph.

LV6_44

Street scene. #32.

Colour photograph. Riley Brothers, Bradford ca. 1900s.

LV6_42



Steam locomotive.

Colour photograph.

LV6_41

Grand (colonial?) building.

Photograph.

LV9_58

Thatched house with pram.

Photograph.Slide broken.

LV6_36

Street with tram.

Photograph.

LV6_32

Ptarmigan.

Colour photograph.

LV4_14

House façade in snow.

Photograph.

LV6_28

Steamer. #18 Victorian Era.

Colour photograph. Riley Brothers, Bradford ca. 1900s.

LV6_48

Forth Rail Bridge, Scotland. #33 Victorian Era

Colour photograph. Riley Brothers, Bradford ca. 1900s.

LV8_22

Industrial workers. #35 Victorian Era.

Colour photograph. Riley Brothers, Bradford ca. 1900s.

LV8_41

Urban street. #49 Victorian Era.

Colour photograph. Riley Brothers, Bradford ca. 1900s.

LV6_29

Horse-drawn fire engine. #52 Victorian Era.

Colour photograph. Riley Brothers, Bradford ca.1900s.

LV6_61

Men carrying goods from house. Africa?
Photograph.
LV6_26

Monument.
Photograph.
LV6_24

Large Building.
Photograph.
LV9_58

Terrace Gardens, Richmond. #10. England.
Photograph.
LV6_20

Rock formation.
Photograph.
LV6_17

Bridge.
Photograph. Caption faded.
LV6_13

Street scene with Atlas Bank. USA.

Photograph.

LV9_5

Man and gun wagon.

Photograph. W.W. Scott & Co., Sauchiehall St., Glasgow.

LV9_13

Landscape with village. Middle East/North Africa?

Photograph.

LV6_3

Civic building with horses and carriages outside.

Photograph.

LV9_23

Llanbadarn Church. #1

Illustration.

LV9_25

Roman soldier.

Colour illustration.

LV9_28

Tower.

Photograph.

LV9_30

Street scene. Middle East/North Africa?

Photograph.

LV9_52

Three men round a wheelbarrow.

Photograph (life model).

LV9_54

Man and boy exchanging package.

Photograph (life model).

LV4_20

'The Temptation'. #4

Photograph (life model).

LV4_17

Three men seated. Middle East/North Africa?

Photograph.

LV9_65

Monument to Fort Dearborn Massacre. Chicago, USA.
Photograph. Monument dated 1893, commissioned by George Pullman, artist Carl Rohl Smith.
LV6_6

Boys on harbour wall.
Photograph.
LV6_10

'Retreat of the Russians from Moukda'.
Photograph. Poor quality image.
LV6_11

'Kew Gardens'. #3.
Photograph.
LV6_12

Battle scene.
Illustration.
LV

Public square and Studebaker building.
Photograph.
LV6_70

Hammering man.

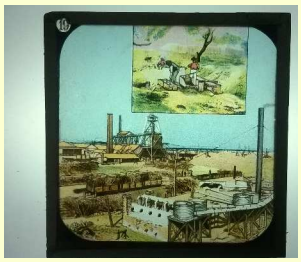
Photograph (life model).

LV9_64

Man collapsed.

Photograph (life model).

LVNG_81



Industrial Scene. #19.

Colour illustration.

LV3_7

'While Many a Homeless Wanderer'. #11.

Illustration of song by Fred Weatherly and Stephen Adams, *The star of Bethlehem* (London: Boosey & Co., 1887). *Lucerna Magic Lantern Web Resource, www.slides.uni.trier.de/set/index.php?id=3006911. Accessed 22 May 2017.*

LV3_15

Horses and Carriage in the Rain. #14.

Colour illustration. Riley Brothers, ca. 1900s.

LV3_20

Landscape. #19 Holy Land.

Colour photograph.

LV8_36

Elephant Ride. #31.

Colour illustration.

LV3_34

Steam engine powering a saw mill.

Photograph. Slide damaged.

LV6_56

Tent and figures. #1

Photograph.

LV4_3

Family outside tent.

Photograph.

LV3_33

Trees.

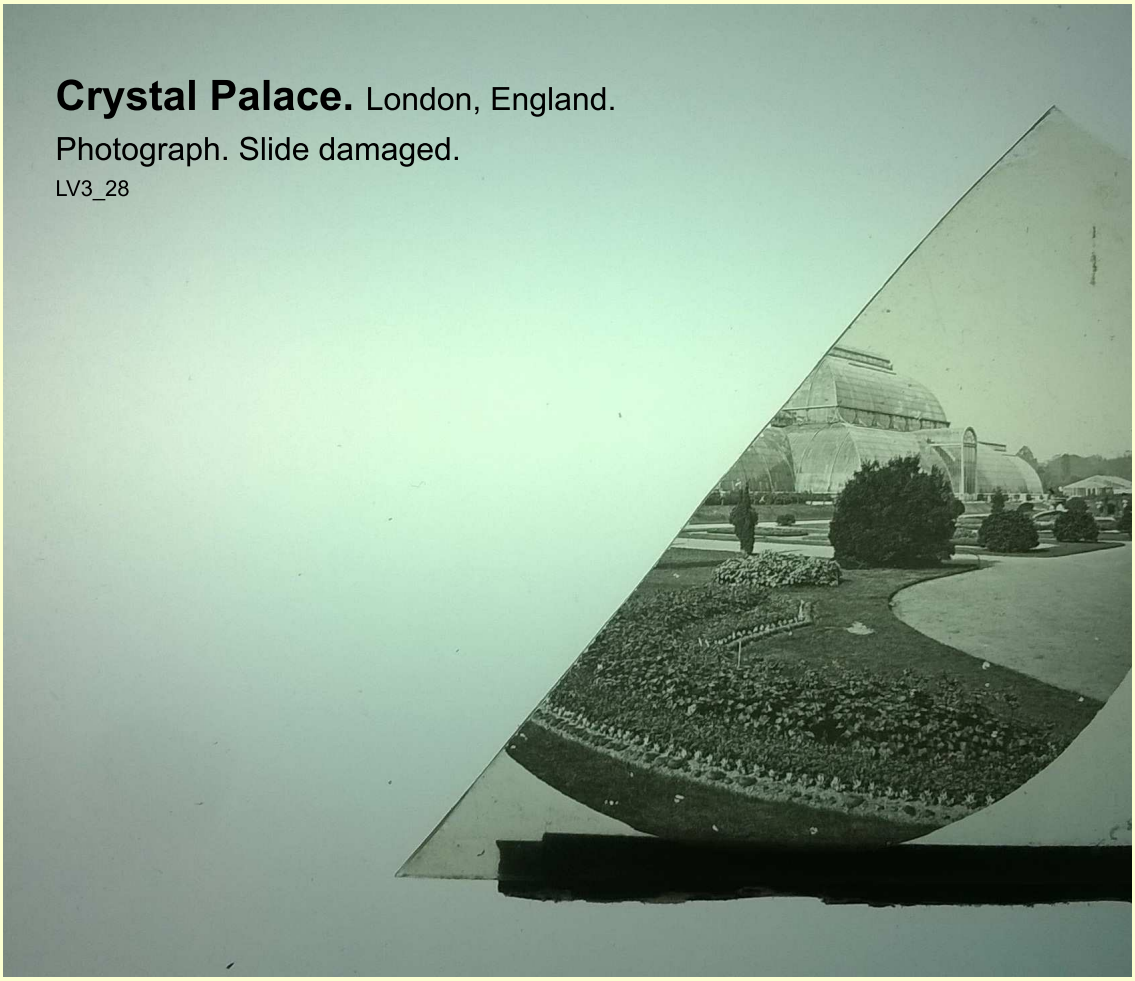
Photograph. Very poor quality image.

LV4_7

Derelict buildings.

Colour photograph.

LV4_9



I end with this slide, which depicts a grand structure of Victorian London, but is sharply broken. It serves as a reminder of the fragility of this collection, and the importance of preserving its images before further damage occurs. It also points to the transience of the British colonial era which, while its legacy can still be felt in places and amongst people around the world, is thankfully past.

A catalogue of glass lantern slide images, part of a collection of items originating from the former Scottish missionary station at Livingstonia, Malawi.

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